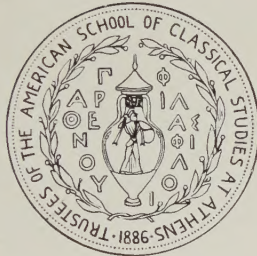


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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
OSCAR BRONEER: Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1931-1932	329
STERLING DOW: The List of <i>Archontes</i> , <i>I.G.</i> ² II 1706	418
WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON and STERLING DOW: The Decree of the Athenian Garrisons Honoring Theophrastos <i>I.G.</i> ² II 1303 .	447



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EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS IN ATHENS, 1931-1932

PLATE XI

In the first volume of *Hesperia* a brief report was given of the preliminary investigation in the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite discovered in the winter of 1930-1931 on the north slope of the Acropolis in Athens. This first excavation of the site, which was confined to the small area occupied by the sanctuary itself, was followed in the spring of 1931 by another investigation, likewise on a very small scale. The purpose was to test the area in the immediate vicinity in order to seek the solutions to some of the problems that arose from the discovery of the sanctuary. This investigation was continued in the spring of 1932. As a result of this exploratory digging it became apparent that the site was sufficiently important to warrant a more extensive excavation, which was undertaken in September, 1932, and continued seven weeks.¹ It is the purpose of this report to set forth the main results of this work and to discuss in a tentative way some of the topographical problems involved. A final study of the mass of pottery and of the small finds must be deferred until the whole area has been cleared. All the inscriptions discovered in the excavation to date, most of which have probably come down from the Acropolis, and a few unpublished fragments found elsewhere, will be included in this report.

¹ I take pleasure in expressing my obligation to Professor Edward Capps, through whose continued interest in the work the necessary funds were provided, and to Messrs. K. Kourouniotes and N. Kyparissis for granting the permission to excavate the area. To Dr. Kourouniotes, who visited the place several times during the progress of the work, I am indebted for valuable help on several occasions, and for many suggestions for the solutions of the various problems. He also caused the water channel to be made (seen in Fig. 1) at the expense of the Ministry of Education in order to divert the water which pours through the Acropolis wall above the excavated area during heavy rains. Through Dr. Kourouniotes I was also able to secure the efficient service of the architect Mr. John Travlos, who made the plan published in plate XI. In the field work I was assisted during a few days of absence by Mr. Arthur Parsons, Misses Dorothy Hill and Lucy Shoe, and by Mrs. Broneer. The inventory of the finds was made by Mrs. Broneer and Miss Catharine Harwood. The foreman during the first preliminary investigations was Stavros Monephoros, whose services were kindly offered me by Dr. Kyparissis. During the longer campaign in the fall of 1932 Mr. John Apostolopoulos was foreman. Most of the photographs were made by Mr. H. Wagner, and a few by Mr. A. Petritsis. Figures 8, 13, 57, 59, 90, 91 are from drawings by Mr. V. Peschke. The drawing for figure 9 was made by Mr. Joseph Shelley and those for figures 19 and 48 by Miss Elizabeth Dow.

THE SITE

The excavated area (Plate XI, Fig. 1) has a width of approximately thirty metres from the row of modern houses on the north to the Acropolis wall on the south. On the west side it extends as far as the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, where the spur of the Acropolis rock projects almost to the modern houses, leaving a space of



Fig. 1. The Excavation Seen from the Acropolis Wall

ca. 5 m., now closed by an iron fence with a double gate.¹ Toward the east the excavation is limited by another rocky spur where the houses are built close to the rock. The distance from east to west measures *ca.* 60 m.

¹ In order to prevent the squatters who live in the houses below the site from taking stones out of the excavation and from filling the place with rubbish the whole area has now been closed off by a high wall (seen in Figs. 1 and 2) toward the north and by an iron fence toward the west. On the east side the rock is so steep that only with great danger or with the use of ladders is it possible to approach from that side. The key to the iron gate on the west side is kept by the guard at the entrance to the Acropolis who will open to admit visitors upon application.

Before the work began most of this area was buried under a deep layer of modern fill thrown down from the excavations on the Acropolis. By far the most laborious part of the work was the removal of this dump, which in places reached a depth of more than 3 m. By means of two cars and track, borrowed from the excavations in the Greek Agora, the greater part of this earth was removed to a point some eighty



Fig. 2. Lower Area from the West

metres to the west, where the slope of the hill had previously been cleared down to native rock. Since nearly the whole site lay buried under this modern dump, one might have reason to believe that the ancient deposit underneath would be found in an undisturbed condition, but, alas, this did not prove to be the case. In most places, particularly in the lower area, the deposit was hopelessly confused. Byzantine and later sherds and coins mixed with classical and prehistoric objects were found at all levels. This confusion was probably caused to some extent by illicit digging for antiquities, which seems to have been carried on here in the latter part of the last century. Furthermore, the slope of the hill, which in places is so steep that the ascent

is very difficult, has naturally added to the confused condition of the deposit. During heavy rains the water collecting on the upper slope forms rivulets which cut through the deposit and carry the earth with its contents down the hill. The objects from this mixed accumulation, though in some cases important in themselves, give us little information about the history of the site. Fortunately, in some places, especially in the



Fig. 3. Lower Area from the East

upper area, the deposit under the modern dump proved to be quite undisturbed, and there it was possible to study the various strata of accumulation.

The whole site is divided naturally from east to west into three narrow sections, which will be referred to as the lower area, the middle area, and the upper area. The lower area (Figs. 2 and 3), varying in width between seven metres at the east end and about eighteen metres near the west end, is divided from the middle area by a sheer cliff caused by the breaking away of the lower ledge of rock. Some of the broken pieces of rock remain close to the cliff forming caves and subterranean passages; others have rolled down the hill. The numerous rock-cut niches, and, in fact, all traces of

occupation dating from the classical period hitherto discovered are confined to the lower area. The western half and a small corner at the east end of the area are still unexcavated (see Plate XI and Fig. 3). The middle area (Fig. 1) is rough and steep and appears never to have been occupied. At its upper edge is a row of rough stones caused by the breaking up of a projecting ledge, which divides the upper from the middle area. Of the upper area (Figs. 1 and 23) only the west end has been cleared. It consists of a narrow defile between the upper slope of the Acropolis rock and the row of broken stones already



Fig. 4. Marble Relief of Eros

referred to. This narrow passage, which in places was widened by raising the ground level, was utilized by the people of the Bronze Age as a rear ascent to the citadel.

The primary object of the excavation was to investigate the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite and the immediate vicinity in order to discover, if possible, some objects that would throw further light on the cults of the two deities. The excavation in the sanctuary itself, which was published in the first report, yielded few objects that could be connected with the cult. But in the spring of 1932 a small area (Plate XI, Z) was cleared to the northwest of the sanctuary. The accumulation of earth proved to be very deep, in the northeast corner *ca.* 4.30 m., and at the bottom of this fill close to *stereo* were found a small deposit of votive terracotta figurines and a fragment of a marble relief. There can be little doubt that both the relief and the figurines came from the sanctuary, and as such they deserve our especial attention.

The relief (Fig. 4) measures 0.12 m. in width and *ca.* 0.035 m. in thickness. Both the top and the bottom are missing but the original height must have been at least about 0.20 m. The marble shows signs of burning, especially on the back of the slab. The

figure is preserved from below the navel to slightly above the knees. It represents a nude boy in profile to the right. The relief is very low, the details are carefully rendered, and the workmanship, so far as can be judged from the small fragment, is comparatively good. Some red color still remains on the figure, and the background showed clear traces of blue which, unfortunately, faded as soon as the surface was thoroughly dry. The slightly stooping attitude of the figure can best be explained on the assumption that



Fig. 5. Figurines from Sanctuary Deposit

a winged Eros was represented. The addition of the wings to a standing figure necessitates a stooping or leaning attitude, since the wings would otherwise disturb the balance so as to make the figure appear to lean backward.¹ Moreover, at the back of the figure just below the break a slight projection in the marble is preserved which at first sight looks like a satyr's tail. It is highly probable, however, that this is the lower edge of the wings which were probably stretched upward as if the figure were just alighting or taking flight. A statuette of Eros, probably from the Athenian Acropolis, was published

¹ For a discussion of this fact see Broneer, *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Cl. Arch.* 1930, I, 2, pp. 81 ff. The success with which the sculptors succeeded in balancing the wings by means of various poses is best illustrated by the figures of the Nike parapet.

by C. T. Seltman a few years ago.¹ The wings, as restored by him, are sickle-shaped, and the statuette is doubtless much earlier than our relief. But even the later type of wings, as represented on red-figured vases, often comes down as low as does the projection on the relief.² It is difficult to establish the date of our fragment, but the type of relief and the rendering of the muscles are strongly suggestive of Hellenistic work. The relief was discovered in a pocket of earth *ca.* 2.50 m. northeast of niche 20,³ and with it was found the fragment of an inscription (No. 11) from the late fifth century.

The deposit of terracotta figurines was discovered close to *stereo* some two metres east of the place where the relief was found. The earth directly above the deposit had been disturbed in recent times. Late sherds with green glaze were found with the figurines. The greater part of the deposit had probably been removed before, and the fragments which we found may have been rejected as useless. No complete figure can be put together from the numerous existing pieces. A great deal of ash and carbonized matter was mixed with the deposit, and most of the terracotta fragments show signs of burning. There is a great variety among the figures, but all the types, so far as they can be identified, are suitable as dedications in a sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. Most of them represent boys (Figs. 5 b-g, i, j and 6 b), but some appear to be draped female figures (Figs. 5 h and 6 a). Two of the male figures are represented as playing the double flute (Fig. 5 i and j). The figurines were covered with an opaque white paint on which other colors were applied. Apart from the figurines the deposit contained numerous knuckle bones, also badly burned, one ointment bottle (Fig. 6 d) and one fragmentary lamp (Fig. 6 c). The bottle is made of a dark gray clay with white bands around the neck. The lamp, which is an early specimen of a moulded Hellenistic type,⁴



Fig. 6. Objects from Sanctuary Deposit

¹ *B. S. A.* XXVI, 1923-25, p. 94, fig. 4 and pl. XIII. The statuette is reported to have been found in Athens, and Seltman advances arguments to connect it with a cult of Eros on the Acropolis. Now that a sanctuary of Eros has been discovered directly below the Acropolis it seems more reasonable to assume that the small poros statuette came from there.

² Cf. Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeich. der Gr.* III, p. 101, No. 351; Beazley, *Attic R. F. Vases in Am. Mus.*, p. 188, fig. 117; Kraiker, *Rotfig. Att. Vasen Arch. Inst. Heidelberg*, pl. 47, No. 230; de Ridder, *Vases Peints*, pls. XXVI, 907, XXVIII, 940; Robinson-Harcum-Iliffe, *Gk. Vases in Ontario Mus.*, pl. LXVII, 383; Tillyard, *The Hope Vases*, pls. 31, No. 217, and 40, No. 287; and especially H. Messerschmidt, *Röm. Mitt.* XLVII, 1932, p. 145, fig. 6.

³ *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 40, fig. 8.

⁴ Cf. Broneer, *Corinth* IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 61 ff., Type XVIII.

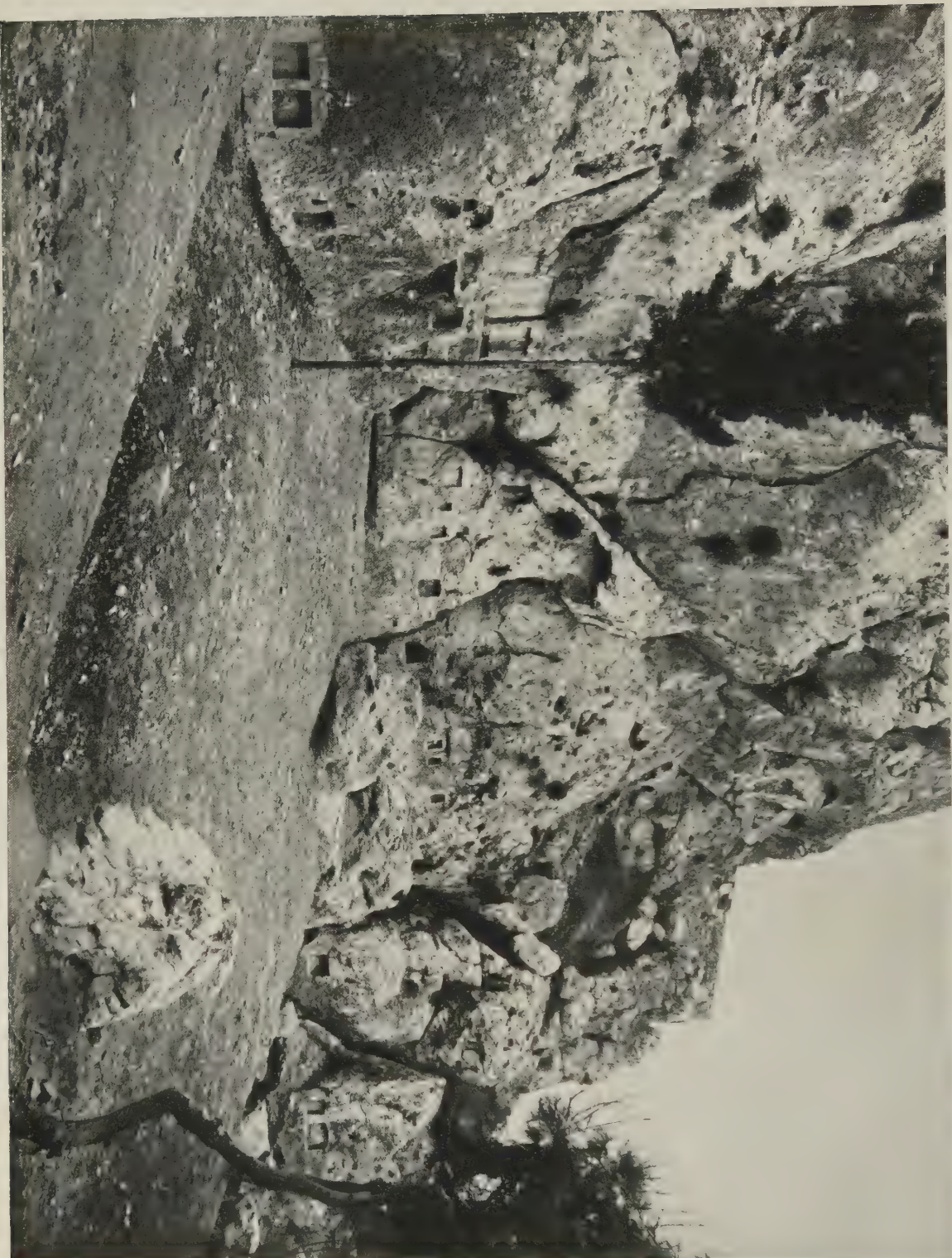


Fig. 7. Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite from the East

should probably be dated rather early in the second century B.C., and the terracotta figurines seem to belong to about the same period.

In the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, which was excavated in 1931, the earth has been thrown back and the whole place leveled off (Fig. 7). The ground level of Greek times, which rose gradually toward the south and west is determined by the rock-cut path and by the level of the niches.¹ This ground level has been reestablished (cf. Fig. 7 with *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 39, fig. 7), and some trees, which had to be removed from other parts of the excavation, are now growing in the sanctuary.

From the southwest corner of the sanctuary, entrance is gained through a narrow passage into a natural cave (Plate XI and Fig. 1). At the west end, where the top has fallen in, the cave is now open to the sky, but the eastern half is covered. The open part was completely filled with earth and stones, most of which proved to be a modern fill. The cave proper, to judge from recent traces of fire, seems to have been occupied in modern times before the whole area was buried under the dump from the Acropolis. Very few objects of importance were discovered in the cave, the most noteworthy being a small votive shield of soft white stone (Fig. 8). It is oval in shape, measuring 0.06 m. \times 0.044 m. On the convex side, which has an outer flat rim, are traces of pink

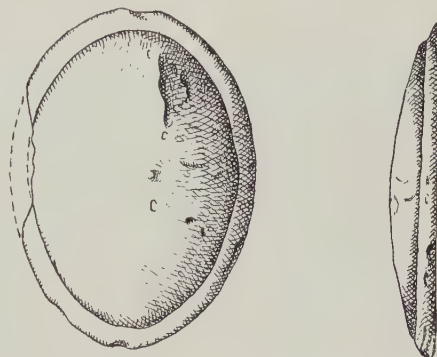


Fig. 8. Votive shield from the Cave



a Fig. 9. Figurine from East End of Cave b

color. The reverse is perfectly flat. Fragments of undecorated terracotta shields were also found in the same place. At the east end there is a second entrance into the cave. Here a figurine of an unusual type was discovered. It represents a sleeping baby with his knees drawn up and his head resting on his hands (Fig. 9). The face is particularly well modeled. The whole figurine measures only 0.065 m. in length. The fine slip, once covered with white paint, has peeled off in places, but otherwise the figure is

¹ Cf. *Hesperia* I, 1932, pp. 37-39.

intact. The date can hardly be earlier than the end of the third century B.C., but I have been unable to find any exact parallels. The excellent state of preservation makes it highly probable that the figurine came down with the débris from the Acropolis. If, as seems likely, the cave was used in connection with some cult, the figurine and the shield must be votive objects dedicated to the deity. Both would be fitting dedications in a



Fig. 10. Area East of Cave, Showing Fallen Rock

shrine of Eros, and it is not unlikely that the cave was in some way connected with the sanctuary farther west.

During the work in this region a large piece of rock broke away¹ at the opening of the cave on the right side as one enters from the east. This fallen rock has some cuttings (Fig. 10) on the side toward the entrance of the cave. There is a dressed surface (Fig. 10 x), measuring *ca.* 0.55 m. \times 0.30 m., and below are two dowel holes. A large stone (Plate XI, 9), directly below the cuttings just described, has been dressed off horizontally at the top. Apparently some object resting on the horizontal bedding of the stone was

¹ It was not discovered that the rock was in danger of falling until it actually began to move, and nothing could then be done to keep it from slipping down.

doweled to the vertical side of the rock at the very mouth of the cave. It is impossible from the cuttings to determine the nature of the object, but more than half of the narrow entrance must have been blocked by it.

The area east of the cave has been excavated as far as the *περίπατος* inscription¹ (see Plate XI and Fig. 2), but some more digging has to be done here before a final account



Fig. 11. Group of Niches at East Side of Excavated Area

can be given. About eighteen metres east of the east entrance to the cave there is a group of niches which in all probability indicate a second sanctuary (Plate XI, N and Figs. 2 and 11). On the face of the rock between this sanctuary and the cave are eight more niches (Figs. 2 and 3, and Plate XI). From their relative levels it is evident that the ancient ground level sloped considerably toward the west.

Part of this area gave indications of the usual confusion found elsewhere, but immediately in front of the entrance to the cave the Greek deposit appeared to be

¹ See Carl Boetticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, p. 219; *I.G.* II, 1077; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (2nd ed.), p. 181; *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 37.

undisturbed. It contained a large number of fragmentary figurines, most of them belonging to types well known from the Acropolis, and probably thrown down from there. Some good black-figured sherds and a few red-figured fragments also came to light in the lower area. The most noteworthy of the sherds is a small piece of a large black-figured vase (Fig. 12). Below a tongue pattern in black and purple are preserved parts of four figures facing to the left. In front is a nude male figure with his right arm extended. With the left arm he embraces a woman dressed in a checkered *chiton*, the corner of which is held up in the man's hand. They appear at first sight to be standing in a chariot, but the woman's right arm is behind the man and the two are interlocked

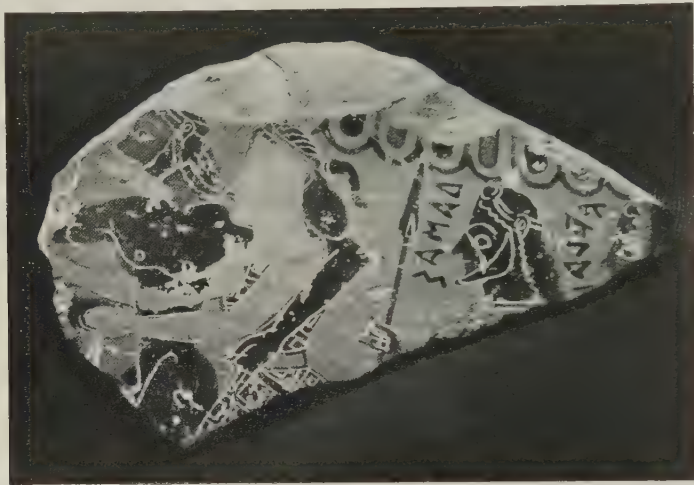


Fig. 12. Fragment of B. F. Vase

as in wrestling.¹ Behind are two men, probably walking. The man in front, who carries a spear, is Damas. The name of the second man, which is partly lost, is probably Kelainos. The men are rendered in black, but purple is used for the face and neck of the man in front. The woman's face and arms are outlined in black, but incised lines set off her features from those of the man behind. If white was used for the flesh it has all disappeared. That the vase is Attic is shown both by the color of the clay and by the Attic alphabet of the inscriptions, but the decoration closely resembles that of Corinthian work.² A small fragment of a Corinthian vase found in Corinth a few years ago³ is so similar to the fragment from the Acropolis in the rendering of the features,

¹ The position of the two figures is hardly suggestive of wrestling, but other figures of wrestlers on black-figured vases, kindly brought to my attention by Prof. Edward Fitch, show the combatants in a somewhat similar pose, E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 390, fig. 120; 393, fig. 123 left.

² Cf. Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 344 ff. He dates the vase to which our fragment belongs about 575 B.C.

³ T. L. Shear, *A. J. A.* XXX, 1926, p. 448, fig. 3.

particularly the eyes and beard, the use of color and even the shape of the letters that the two vases might have been made by the same man. The fragment from Corinth is, however, of Corinthian clay and the inscriptions are in the Corinthian alphabet.

The fragment from our excavation belongs to a well-known vase, large parts of which were discovered in the excavations on the Acropolis.¹ The vase was decorated with scenes from the funeral games of Pelias. The woman on our fragment is probably Atalanta who is said to have wrestled with Peleus at the funeral and won the contest.²

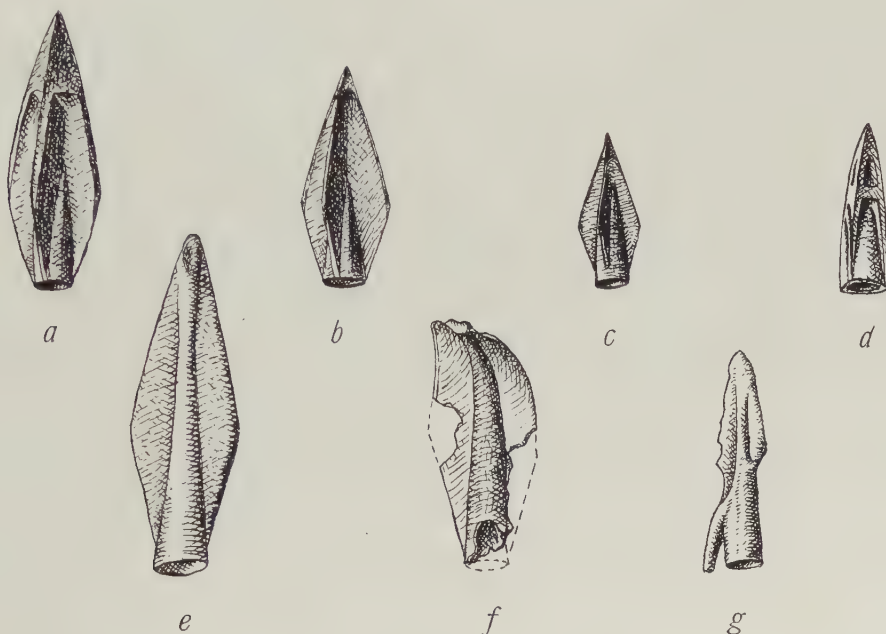


Fig. 13. Bronze Arrow Points

The other characters cannot so easily be brought into connection with the known myths about the funeral games. Damas and Kelainos, who are very little known and that only from late sources, do not appear in connection with the Pelias myth. Damas followed Dionysus to Asia and became the founder of Damascus.³ On coins of Apameia Dionysus himself bore the epithet Kelaineus,⁴ but it is not likely that he would so be called on an early Attic vase. It is, of course, possible that two different myths were depicted on the vase, and that our fragment is the only piece preserved that deals with the second myth.

¹ Graef-Langlotz, *Ant. Vas. v. d. Akropolis* I, p. 64, No. 590, and II, pl. 27. Professors Paul Wolters and George Oikonomos, who kindly examined the sherd together with the fragments from the Acropolis, corroborated my opinion that the new sherd is part of the same vase.

² Apollodorus III, ix, 2.

³ *Etym. Mag.*, s. v. Damaskos.

⁴ See Roscher's *Lexicon*, s. v.

In the Greek fill east of the cave a remarkably large number of bronze arrow points were found. They are of three types. By far the larger number have three ribs projecting from a circular socket in which the shaft was fixed (Fig. 13 a-c). A peculiar variation of this type (Fig. 13 d) is triangular in section but has no projecting ribs. The second type (Fig. 13 e, f) is flat, having only two ribs. One point of this kind (Fig. 13 f) was shot against some hard object and bent out of shape. The third type, of which a single specimen (Fig. 13 g) was found, is flat like the preceding but has a small barb on one side. All the others are without barbs. There is also great variation in size. The points



Fig. 14. Small Stones Set in Mortar

were found in a deposit which contained a large percentage of black-figured vases, although in most places some later objects as well came from the same context. It is not unlikely that most of them date from the time of the Persian War. It is difficult to suggest any other time when the Acropolis was attacked by an army using the bow and arrow to any great extent.

Among the many puzzling objects which came out of the deposit east of the cave are two small stones or pebbles (Fig. 14), *ca.* 0.09 m. long, *ca.* 0.04 m. wide. One end of the pebbles is covered with a hard mortar. When first discovered these stones were thought to have come from a pebble floor, but were that the case they would not project so far above the mortar. A similar stone, found *in situ* toward the end of the campaign, offers a possible explanation. Slightly north of the east entrance to the cave a narrow cleft in the rock forms a natural, partly covered passage. At the east end of this passage is a cross wall, no more than 1.50 m. in length, and *ca.* 0.40 m. in height (Plate XI δ , Fig. 15 δ). It is poorly built of small stones, laid in clayey earth, and covered both in

front and on the top with a poor stucco, of which only small bits remain. In the top of this wall or shelf near the north end was found a pebble of the type described above. Some of the mortar in which it was embedded still adhered to the wall. Several other structures of various shapes but built in the same way were found in the near vicinity. These are numbered α - ζ on the plan, Plate XI. They rest on loose earth and are so poorly built that it is difficult to prevent their disintegration. β and γ are shown in



Fig. 15. Low Wall with Imbedded Pebble

figure 10. The earth under β was removed and a stone pier built for its support. In the process one side broke away and revealed the fact that β , unlike the rest, was merely carved out of the earth and covered with thin stucco. Originally it measured *ca.* 0.47 m. \times 0.38 m. and was roughly oval in shape. Its preserved height is only about 0.10 m., but the top is broken away. The somewhat larger structure γ , which is built of stones and earth, is approximately rectangular, measuring *ca.* 0.70 m. \times 0.65 m. and 0.22 m. in height. Here, too, the top is missing. Farther north and at a lower level are two structures, ϵ and ζ (Fig. 16), of a different shape. Of ζ only some plaster remains, too poorly preserved to show what shape it had. ϵ is built like a low curving wall, *ca.* 0.26 m. high and 0.30 m. wide, plastered on top and on the east side. Apart from the others toward the east

is α (Figs. 2 and 3), a small triangular structure built against the scarp of rock. The sides are stuccoed, but the top is not preserved. The rock behind has a dressed surface. Between α and β is a rectangular box, η , built of tiles (Fig. 2). Its inside measurements are: Length, 0.50 m., width, 0.40 m., depth 0.37 m. No cover was preserved and the contents were of no interest.

These puzzling structures¹ cannot be later than Hellenistic times and may be earlier. The fill directly in front of δ contained no recognizable objects of Roman date. In it



Fig. 16. Area Northeast of Cave, Showing Stuccoed Structures

were found large fragments of a black-figured skyphos with the figure of two warriors playing dice depicted on each side of the vase. Together with these fragments were found large parts of two Hellenistic vases with decorations in white on a black ground. Among the finds from the same vicinity are numerous fragments of a plastic vase representing the drunken Dionysus supported by Silenus.² It is highly improbable that

¹ Mr. John Travlos has kindly pointed out to me the analogous use of stucco in a small cave above the Monastery at Daphni. In this cave, which was used as a shrine, the walls and the sides as well as the floor and even the steps leading up to the cave were covered with a thin stucco.

² These vases, which have not yet been restored, will be published later together with the rest of the pottery from the excavations.

these vases came down with the earth from the Acropolis. They may have been thrown out of the cave.

Before suggesting an explanation of the small stuccoed structures it will be necessary to describe the sanctuary already referred to at the east end of the lower area (Plate XI, N). A large rock on the south side contains six small niches¹ (Fig. 11), five of which are of the usual rectangular type with dowel holes for fastening the votive slabs. But the



Fig. 17. Votive Cups and Lamp with Many Wick-holes

cutting to the right in figure 11 is horseshoe-shaped, and in the middle is a circular projection. Above are three dowel holes. Obviously this cutting was made for a totally different kind of object from those fitted into the other niches. Below the niches are smaller cuttings in the rock which may be steps. These niches, grouped close together in one place, seem to indicate that a sanctuary of some kind existed here, and this supposition is further strengthened by the contents of the fill below the niches.

The ancient ground level was considerably higher at this point than in the adjoining area toward the west. The difference was made up by a terrace wall still standing to a height of *ca.* 1 m. (Fig. 2). East of this wall the ground level was raised by an artificial

¹ These were observed by Ernst Curtius, cf. *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, pl. 6.

fill which contained chiefly prehistoric pottery. But after digging through a layer over a meter deep in which no classical remains came to light we came upon a black painted cup, almost complete, and one askos-shaped pot of Greek date. Farther east, at a still lower level (Plate XI, O), a large number of small skyphoi (Fig. 17) were discovered, which certainly had been thrown out of some sanctuary. They are all of the same shape and of approximately the same size. The average height is *ca.* 0.05 m. and the diameter *ca.* 0.035 m. Most of them are painted black all over, but a few fragments have a band of simple palmettes. Only a small pit was dug where these cups were discovered. Until the area east of O (Plate XI) is cleared the questions regarding the various ground

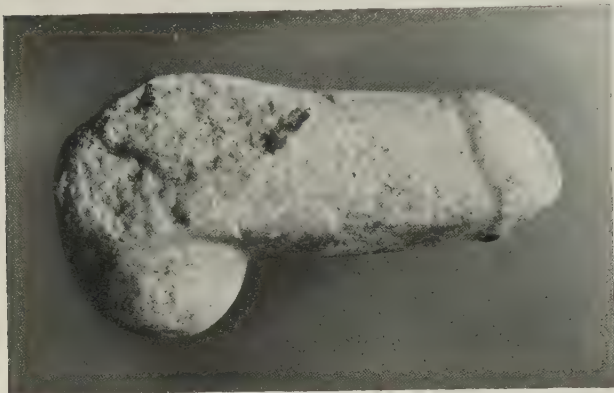


Fig. 18. Marble Phallos from East Sanctuary

levels at this point must remain unanswered. At a point *ca.* 6 m. west of N in the middle area (Plate XI, M) was found a deposit consisting chiefly of broken lamps of the corona type. They consist of a circular *infundibulum* with several nozzles and with a hole in the centre. Some of these lamps were of incredible size with two or three rows of wick-holes. The largest examples had several hundred wicks. One lamp of the smaller type with fourteen wick-holes at the outer edge was found entire (Fig. 17); all the

others are fragments. It was impossible to determine whether this deposit had come down from the Acropolis or had been thrown out of the nearer sanctuary just described.

Since no inscription has been discovered among the niches at N it remains a problem to which deity the sanctuary was dedicated. The only hint as to the kind of cult practised at this place is given by a chance find in the late fill north of the sanctuary directly below the *περίπατος* inscription. This is a phallos of island marble which probably was used in connection with some cult in the vicinity (Fig. 18). Although partly broken, enough remains to show that it never was attached to a statue or herm. Since it was found near the niches at N it is not improbable that it had come from the sanctuary above.

We know that a large number of primitive cults were housed on the slopes of the Acropolis, nearly all of which had to do with fertility and the growth of vegetation. Such were the cults of Eros and Aphrodite in the newly discovered sanctuary, and to the same class belongs the worship of the daughters of Kekrops. Farther west below the Propylaea were the joint shrines of Demeter Chloe, Ge Kouritrophos, and Aphrodite Pandemos,¹ whose cults belong to the same stratum of primitive religion. Other cult places in the same category: the Boukoleon, the Bouzygeion, the Field of Hunger, the

¹ See A. D. Keramopoulos, *Arch. Anst.* XII, 1929, pp. 73 ff.

sanctuary of Zeus Teleios,¹ and perhaps one of Adonis were apparently located somewhere on the north and west slopes, although their exact location is still undetermined. It would be a fruitless speculation to try without further evidence to connect any of these with the sanctuary discussed above. Yet we are justified in assuming that the unknown deity worshiped here belonged to the same class of primitive gods of fertility. A common symbol connected with this kind of religion was the phallos. It is not unlikely that the horseshoe-shaped cutting in the rock at N was made for the fastening of a large phallos of metal, which may have been regarded as the chief symbol of some deity whose name we do not know.² If these conjectures are justified, it may be further suggested that some of the curious structures α-ζ (Plate XI) in the area west of the sanctuary were altars on which some kind of bloodless sacrifices, such as fruit and flowers, were offered. The small stones projecting from the top of these altar-like structures are probably also phallic symbols.

Very little is known about the obscure cults that continued to be practised by the lower classes of Athenian society after the Maiden Goddess of Reason had been housed in her proud temple on the citadel, but there is ample evidence that the enlightened leaders of the state did not look with too much favor upon the crude practices connected with the worship of these early deities. This is most probably the reason for the decree,³ which apparently was passed in the year 416/415,⁴ forbidding, among other things, the further erection of altars in the Pelargikon, *i.e.* on the slopes of the Acropolis, where most of the primitive cult places were located. Popular belief was too strong to permit the abolition of these early shrines, but at least their further extension was being prevented. The continued policy of bringing the religious life of the city in all its manifestations—and particularly the revenue accruing from the sanctuaries—under the control of the state is doubtless responsible for the passing of this decree and for similar restrictions of religious behavior.

The inscription (Fig. 19), referred to above, which gives the length of a certain encircling road, is cut on the face of a large piece of rock to the north of the sanctuary at N (Plate XI). It reads: [τ]οῦ περιπάτου [ν] | περίοδος | Π(έντε) Σ(τάδια) πόδες | ΔΡ'ΙΙΙ. The proposed date is the middle of the fourth century B.C. The lunate *sigma* would seem to indicate a later date, but the *pi* and the four-bar *sigma* in the third line point to a date as early as the fourth century.⁵ The *περίπατος* was probably a road encircling the citadel at the foot of the steep slope. The approximate distance of a path at the level

¹ For a discussion of these places see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 296 ff.

² In the Sanctuary of Aphrodite beside the Sacred Way to Eleusis, marble reliefs representing the *αἰδοῖα γυναικεῖα* were attached to the rock. Several of these reliefs were discovered by Mr. John Travlos in a recent investigation of the site, others were found during earlier excavations, cf. S. Wide, *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1910, p. 50, No. 5.

³ *I.G.* I² 76.

⁴ Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 340; B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 172.

⁵ Koehler argues for the early date and cites several parallels, *I.G.* II¹ 1077, 1152; *Ath. Mitt.* II, 1877, p. 281. Cf. *I.G.*² 2639; E. Curtius, *Atlas von Athen*, pp. 20, 21.

indicated by the inscription and by the road on the south side of the Acropolis, west of the Theatre of Dionysus, tallies sufficiently well with the measurement given in the inscription.¹ This pathway must have divided the slopes into an upper and a lower area, and the division was sufficiently important for the recording of the exact length of the path. Since we know that several primitive sanctuaries were located above the road it is natural to suppose that the latter served as the boundary of a sacred territory which was closed to private use. From this encircling road ascending paths and stairs,

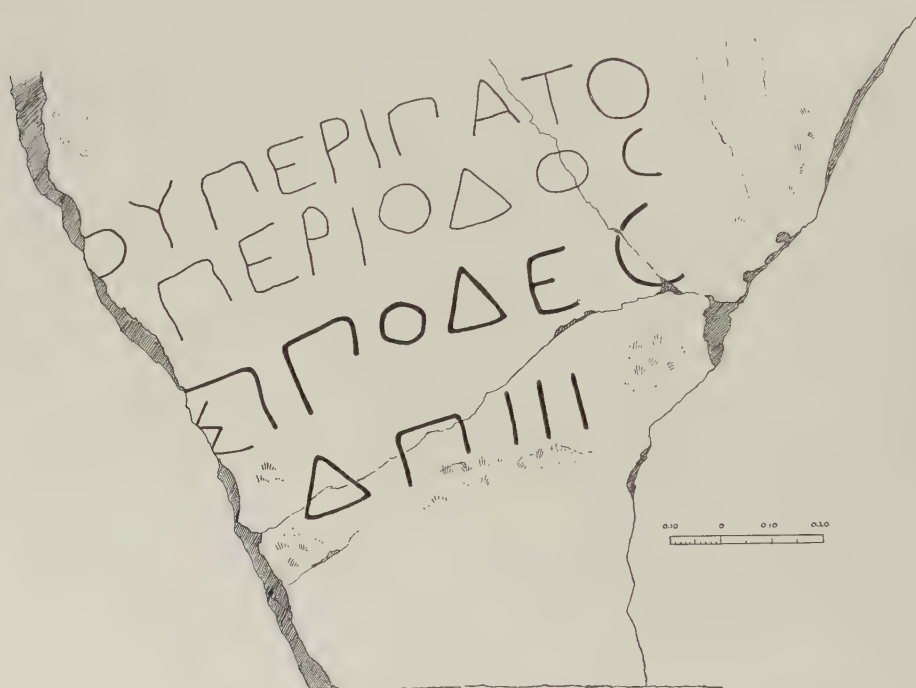


Fig. 19. The *περίπατος* Inscription

in some cases cut in rock, lead up to the various sanctuaries above and to the subsidiary entrances to the Acropolis (see Appendix p. 415).

An attempt was made to find some traces of the *περίπατος* itself, but without success. Directly in front of the inscription is a late cistern, the construction of which probably caused the destruction of the road at this point. Slightly farther west, at a level approximately 0.40 m. below the bottom line of the inscription, were discovered two Byzantine column capitals, one late inscription (No. 39), and several coarse pots of Byzantine times. The ground level, as shown by the inscription and by two niches cut in the face of the rock farther west (Fig. 2), must have been approximately the same in

¹ E. Curtius, *l. c.*

ancient times as later. The lines of the inscription slope up toward the west, and the relative height of the two niches likewise indicates a rise in level.¹ It seems probable that the *περίπατος* proper followed the slope of the hill westwardly and that a path branching off at the inscription led southward toward the sanctuary at N (Plate XI). The wall which still remains west of the sanctuary is probably later than the niches.



Fig. 20. Seated Figure from the Erechtheum Frieze

In order to find traces of the path that must have led up to the Aglaurion from the *περίπατος* a small trench was dug at a point between the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite and the subterranean entrance to the Acropolis west of the Erechtheum. No trace of the path was found, but in the trench among a large number of marble fragments was discovered the lower part of a seated female figure (Fig. 20 a and b) from the frieze of the Erechtheum. The smooth back with traces of a dowel hole, the size of the figure, and its resemblance in general to the existing figures of the frieze, makes the identification certain. The surface is badly worn, but clear traces of red color still remain in the

¹ In figure 19 the line at the bottom indicates the present ground level which is probably the approximate level of the ancient path.

folds of the drapery. The figure, which is seated on a rock, was seen in half profile facing left.¹ Another small fragment of a female figure from the Erechtheum frieze (Fig. 21) came to light in the lower area east of the cave. Only part of the left arm and the left breast are preserved, but the flat back with dowel holes, and the size of



Fig. 21. Fragment of Female Figure
from Erechtheum Frieze

the figure are certain indications that it belongs to the frieze.

In the middle area (Fig. 1) nothing of importance came to light except the deposit of lamp fragments at M (Plate XI) which has been mentioned in connection with the East Sanctuary. In some pockets on the rocky slope above the cave a few inscriptions and some good pieces of pottery were discovered, but these are incidental finds which will be discussed in their proper context.

In the upper area only the west side has been excavated. The chief reason for including this area in the excavation was the attempt to find indications of the date of the postern gate which once existed at this point. The location of the sanctuaries directly below might give rise to the opinion that an entrance continued to exist here throughout classical times, which served as a means of direct connection between the Acropolis and the sanctuaries. The results were negative so far as the Greek period is concerned, but a most welcome addition to our knowledge of the Acropolis in the Bronze Age was made by the clearing of this area.

Close to the Acropolis wall an immense heap of débris of modern times had to be cleared away before the ancient deposit was reached. Several important fragments of inscriptions, some figurines, and a considerable number of black-figured potsherds were

found here. The usual confusion of Greek and prehistoric sherds with Byzantine, Turkish and modern objects, was observed in some places of this area, particularly along the north edge, but at other points the classical deposit was definitely separated from the prehistoric. The Greek pottery is preponderantly black-figured. This is probably explained by the fact that some of the débris from the destruction by the Persians (the "Perserschutt") was thrown down from the Acropolis when the place was leveled off. Between this fill

¹ There are several seated figures among the known fragments of the frieze. One of these (H. N. Fowler, in the *Erechtheum*, pl. XLIV, No. 82) resembles the new piece, but the two figures face in opposite directions.

and the prehistoric deposit a more or less definite *strosis* could be observed in a few places. There was no trace of a geometric deposit, in fact the number of geometric sherds from the whole excavation is so small as to be almost negligible. The most abundant, and certainly the most important, pottery from this place is the late Mycenaean.

The Acropolis wall at this point dates from Byzantine times or later. This is a well-known fact, but never before has the outer face of the wall been cleared down to the lowest courses. It is remarkable that every stone of the ancient Greek wall was removed before the later wall was built in this place¹ (Fig. 22). This being the case, the arguments for the existence or non-existence of a postern gate here in Greek times must be based on observations from the area immediately outside the wall. The slope is here so steep that if an entrance through the wall existed there must have been a stairway leading up to it. But, although the Mycenaean steps were found comparatively well preserved, no trace whatever was found of a Greek stairway. Large boulders, which had probably rolled down from the Cyclopean wall, rested directly upon the Mycenaean deposit, and these would hardly have been left as they fell if a stairway had existed here in Greek times. Although a continuation of the excavations farther down the hill may possibly necessitate a modification of this statement, so far as can be determined at present there was no entrance through the Greek wall at this point.

In the general excavations of the Acropolis the upper part of an early approach to the citadel was discovered directly opposite the area under consideration. The stairway (Plate XI), partly built of unhewn stones and partly cut in rock, was laid bare for a



Fig. 22. Mycenaean Stairway and Lower Courses of Acropolis Wall

¹ The reason for this thorough-going destruction is the fact that this is one of the few assailable places of the Acropolis, apart from the west approach which was heavily fortified. Only at one other point, *i.e.* at the Belvedere, was the ancient wall ever demolished down to its foundation. See Kavvadias-Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, pp. 90–92, pls. A', I', Δ'.

distance of *ca.* 15 m. from its upper end to the point where it is intercepted by the Acropolis wall. It is built in a natural cleft with steep, rocky slopes on either side. The prehistoric fortification, unlike that of later times, followed the upper edge of this cleft so that the entire stairway was outside the wall. On the north side of the gate at the upper end of the stairway traces of a tower have been found, and a later cross-wall shows that the gate itself was walled up some time before the end of the Mycenaean period. From a study of the walls alone L. B. Holland¹ came to the conclusion that this took place before the construction of the strong Cyclopean wall, a portion of which may still be seen to the south of the stairway. The problem concerning the relative dates of the prehistoric walls at this point is too complicated to be discussed here, and an exact dating of the Cyclopean wall based on accurate study of the earth filling between the stones is still lacking. For the present our discussion must be limited to a description of the lower part of the stairway as revealed by our excavation.

In the preliminary investigation of the area in the spring of 1931 four steps of the stairway (Fig. 22) were laid bare close to the Acropolis wall. The sherds found in the fill directly above the steps proved beyond a doubt that the stairway was covered over before the end of the Mycenaean period. Below the lowest step visible in figure 22 one step is missing except for a single stone still remaining at the left side. The mediaeval foundations for the Acropolis wall rest directly on the Mycenaean stairway.

When the excavation was continued on a larger scale in September and October, 1932, eight more steps came to light, seven of which form a separate flight at a lower level (Fig. 23). The two stretches of the stairway are separated by a kind of ramp (Plate XI, A) where the slope of the ground was so gentle that no steps were needed. This ramp was buried under a Mycenaean deposit containing a great deal of pottery including some almost complete vases (Fig. 39). Resting on this deposit was found a heap of large stones which had to be removed before the stairway and the ramp could be laid bare. Among the pottery below the upper stretch of the stairway was found a piece of lead weighing 4.10 kg. Since it has no marks of any kind, it was probably not a weight. The lower stretch of the stairway was likewise buried under an undisturbed Mycenaean deposit, which at the foot of the stairway had a depth of *ca.* 0.65 m.² The top of this deposit was approximately level with the second step from the bottom. Below the stairway is a well packed *strosis* (Plate XI, B and Figs. 23 and 24) sloping gradually toward the east. To judge from the mass of pottery that came out of the fill the *strosis* must have formed the floor of a house. Some of the pots were almost intact, others were broken but the pieces were found together in one place. A layer of ash covered the floor directly below the stairway. A piece of natural rock which projects above the floor close to the stairway is worn smooth on top. On the east side near the edge of

¹ *A. J. A.* XXVIII, 1924, pp. 142 ff.

² A corner of the Mycenaean deposit was left as a "martyra." It is visible in figures 23 and 24 to the right of the lowest step of the stairway.



Fig. 23. Upper Area, Showing Mycenaean Stairway

the excavation the floor was not preserved (Fig. 24, lower right corner). No walls were discovered that could belong to the floor, but on the east side in the unexcavated area there may still be remains of the foundation for a wall. On the north and south sides the walls were probably built directly on the solid rock where they would leave no traces. In the middle of the floor was found a heap of small stones which must have



Fig. 24. Floor Below Mycenaean Stairway

come from the fallen walls. Some complete though broken pots were dug out from among the stones.

A small pit dug below the floor on the south side (Figs. 23 and 24) yielded a number of sherds, most of which are pre-Mycenaean. Further investigations of the contents under the floor will have to be made before a definite date can be given. The question is important because the relation of the floor to the steps above seems to indicate that the two are of the same date. Another important problem which had to be left unsolved for the present is the continuation of the stairway toward the east.

In addition to the area immediately adjoining the stairway one more place was found where the Mycenaean deposit had remained in an undisturbed condition. This is a small triangular space to the north of the stairway and close to the Acropolis wall (Plate XI, C). In the northwest corner of this space the stratification was disturbed, but in the rest of the area the Mycenaean deposit had remained intact. Along the south side a few stones of a Mycenaean wall were found *in situ* (Fig. 25 y). A well-marked floor level could be observed at the bottom of the wall. Near the middle of this floor is a flat stone (Fig. 25 z) with the top slightly above the floor. This probably served as the base of a wooden support for the roof. When the excavations began in this place a trial pit was sunk in the east half of the area. Below the Mycenaean deposit was found an earlier fill, the lowest stratum of which contained a large number of sherds from the Early Helladic period. On the floor were found several late Mycenaean vases including the cooking vessel shown in figure 45 a.



Fig. 25. Small Room North of Mycenaean Stairway

The pottery from these three places (Plate XI, A, B, C) shows beyond a doubt that the humble dwellings which occupied the slope at this point were abruptly abandoned at a time near the end of the Mycenaean period. Had the place been gradually and deliberately deserted the inhabitants would not have left their household ware lying on the floor. It would not be safe to conclude, however, that Athens was destroyed by the same hordes who sacked the cities of the Peloponnesos and reduced the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae to ruins. There is sufficient evidence to prove that no general destruction of the Acropolis took place when these dwellings on the North Slope were abandoned. Tradition has it that Athens was spared the fate that overtook the rest of Greece, and the ceramic evidence points to a continued development from late Mycenaean times to the early Iron Age. This is amply demonstrated by the contents of some early graves recently discovered in the German excavations at the Kerameikos.¹ The prehistoric settlement in Athens may have been sacked more than once by invading hosts from near or far, and its inhabitants may have had to abandon their houses temporarily, but the same people apparently returned to their old homes or established themselves in the

¹ W. Kraiker (*Arch. Anz.* XLVII, 1932, p. 206) makes the statement: "Vor allem geben sie (*i.e.* die Gräber) Gewißheit für eine geschichtliche Entwicklung ohne Bruch — wenigstens hier in Athen."

near vicinity. The continuity of their race, which was a matter of great pride to the ancient Athenians, can be demonstrated by archaeological evidence to be an established fact.

THE PREHISTORIC POTTERY¹

A final publication of the pottery from the excavation would not be practicable at this stage of the work. This must be reserved for a later study, which cannot be

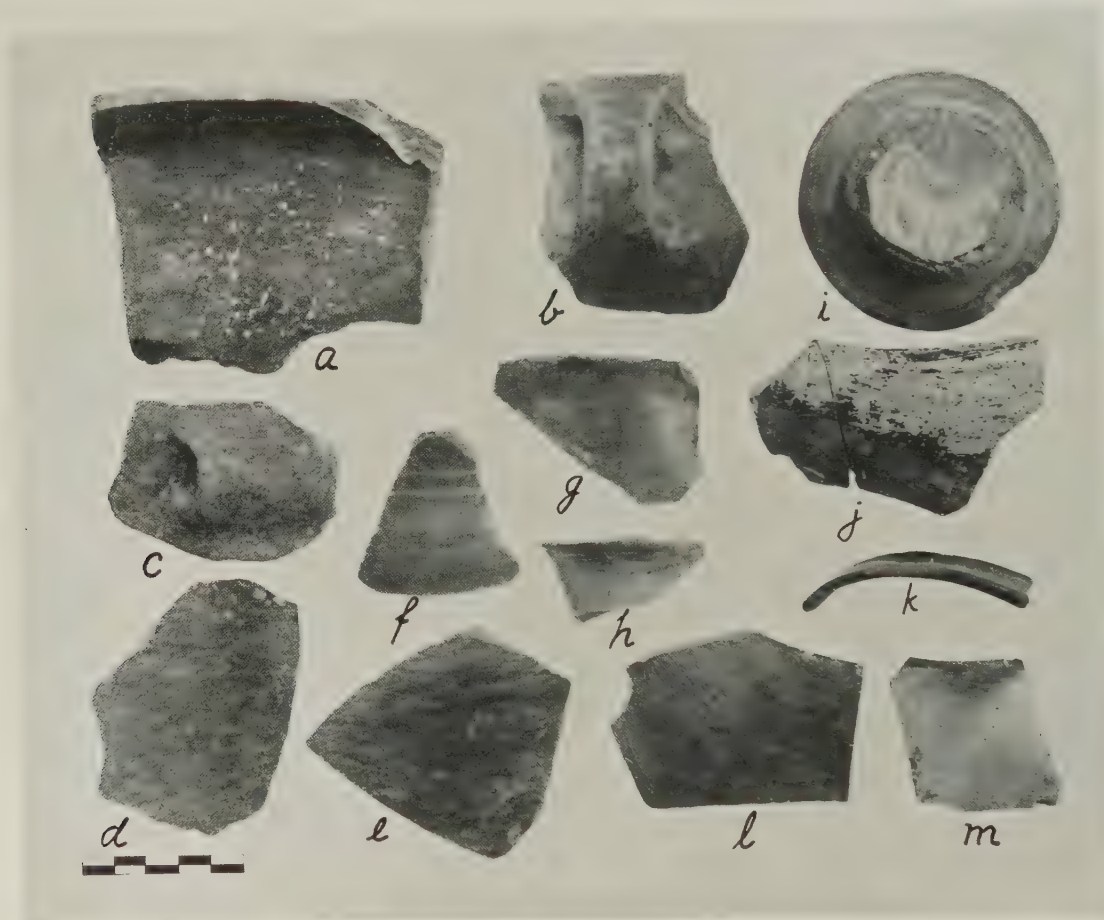


Fig. 26. Typical Sherds of Early Helladic Ware

undertaken before the excavation of the whole site has been brought to completion. But the prehistoric pottery has so important a bearing on the foregoing discussion of

¹ I take pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to Professor Carl W. Blegen, who kindly looked through all the more important of the prehistoric sherds and offered invaluable help in identifying the various types of pottery. To Mrs. Leslie W. Kosmopoulos I am likewise indebted for much information and especially for showing me her unpublished finds from Corinth.

the site, that a brief account of the various types and periods must be included here. This is particularly true of the late Mycenaean pottery, which constitutes by far the largest of all the classes represented. Unfortunately, much of the prehistoric pottery, including some of the finest fragments, came from a mixed deposit in which the context gave no indication as to the date of the sherds. The only floor level that could be established with certainty in the area hitherto cleared is that of the late Mycenaean period. The pottery from the other periods, which was not found in stratified deposits,



Fig. 27. Sherds of Incised Ware, Early Helladic Period

was probably thrown down from the Acropolis. It is not impossible, however, that further investigations under the Mycenaean floor will reveal other strata of habitation. Much of the undecorated ware, especially the coarse household pottery, is not sufficiently differentiated to make identification certain unless enough remains to show the shapes of the vases.

With the exception of a few fragments which seem to belong to the Neolithic period¹ the earliest pottery dates from the first period of the Bronze Age. Most of the fragments

¹ On the South Slope of the Acropolis the excavations of the Italian School have revealed pottery and other objects which are earlier than the first period of the Bronze Age. Cf. A. Della Seta, *Annuario* IV-V,

are small, and no attempt has been made to restore any of the vases, but some well known shapes can be recognized, the most common of which are the sauce-boat¹ (Fig. 26, i-m) and the shallow bowl with the rim curving inward (Fig. 26 a). The majority of the sherds are covered with a highly polished slip (Fig. 26 a, d, e), but fragments of painted pottery are also found (Fig. 26 b, c, i-m). Of patterned ware there are very few sherds which can definitely be assigned to the Early Helladic period. One small piece with two

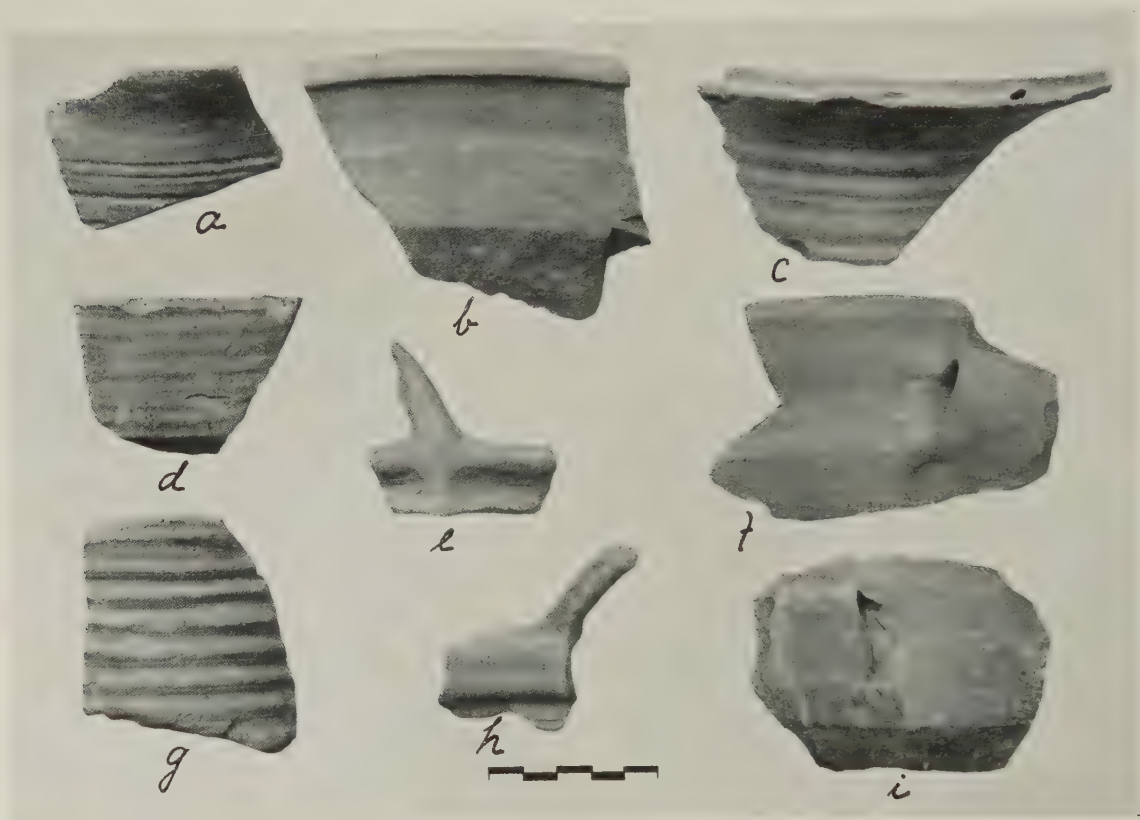


Fig. 28. Sherds of Gray Minyan Ware, Middle Helladic Period

parallel lines in white paint is shown in figure 26 f. A comparatively rare variety belonging to the Early Helladic period is the incised ware. The best preserved piece, shown in figure 27 h, seems to be part of an askos. The clay is coarse and gritty, of a dark brown, almost black color. The decoration, which is limited to the upper half of the vase, consists of incised lines with traces of a white filling. The patterns are

1921-1922, p. 490, *Bullettino d'Arte* IV, 1924-1925, pp. 88 ff. and figs. 7-10; G. E. Mylonas, *Ἡ Νεολιθική Ἐποχή ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, pp. 75 ff.

¹ Examples of this type of ware have been found at other sites in Attica, G. E. Mylonas, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας* V, 1930, pp. 319 ff.; *Ἑλευσινιακά*, A, p. 61, figs. 36, 37. One spout of a sauce-boat was recently discovered in a well in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.

composed of simple hatchings between parallel lines and hatched double triangles, the so-called butterfly pattern. Three small fragments, of a strongly Cycladic appearance, seem to belong to pyxides¹ (Fig. 27 c, i, j). They are made of a dark brown, rather coarse clay. One of the pieces preserves traces of a pinkish slip or paint. At the edge is a row of simple hatchings, and on the side is a pattern of concentric circles. Some of the fragments (Fig. 27 d–g) are made of a buff clay and decorated with incised lines which appear not to have been filled with color.

The recognizable sherds belonging to vases from the Middle Helladic period are much more numerous than those of Early Helladic ware. Some typical examples of the various fabrics are illustrated in figures 28–33. The so-called Gray Minyan ware is represented by a large number of sherds from various kinds of vases. Ringed stems (Fig. 28 g),

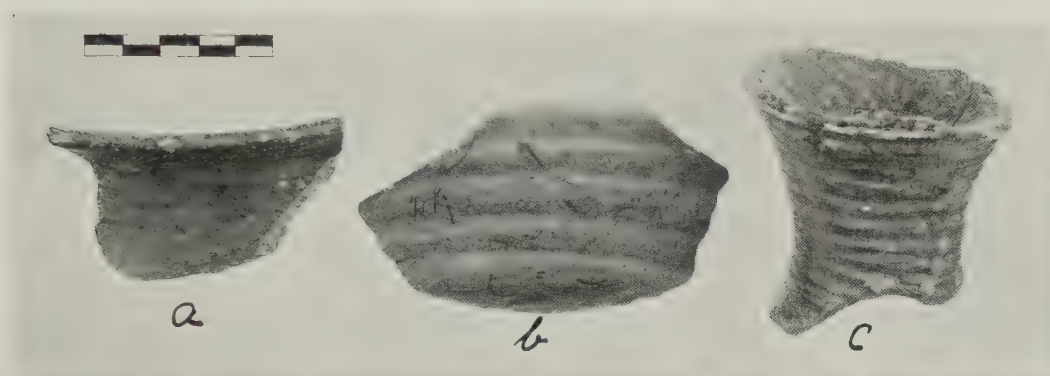


Fig. 29. Sherds of "Argive Minyan" Ware

pieces of rims (Fig. 28 b, c) and handles of large goblets are very common. The handles are either small, flat, loop handles (Fig. 28 f, i) projecting from the shoulder of the vase, or round bow handles set vertically on the rim (Fig. 28 e, h). The latter variety is interesting because similar handles are found among the matt-painted and the Yellow Minyan sherds (Figs. 33 g and 34 b). Fragments of "Argive Minyan" (Fig. 29), though not so common as the preceding, are by no means rare. The shapes correspond in the main to those of the Gray Minyan ware, but the workmanship is poorer and the clay much coarser. The rings on the stem are as a rule more numerous and less regular than in the case of genuine Gray Minyan.

Sherds of polished monochrome ware are fairly common. Some pieces seem to belong to vases made in imitation of the Gray Minyan ware. Such a fragment, shown in

¹ Sherds from covers of similar vessels were found in the excavations on the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* I, pl. 1, Nos. 2 and 3) and also on the South Slope, A. Della Seta, *Bullettino d'Arte* IV, 1924–1925, p. 88 and fig. 8.

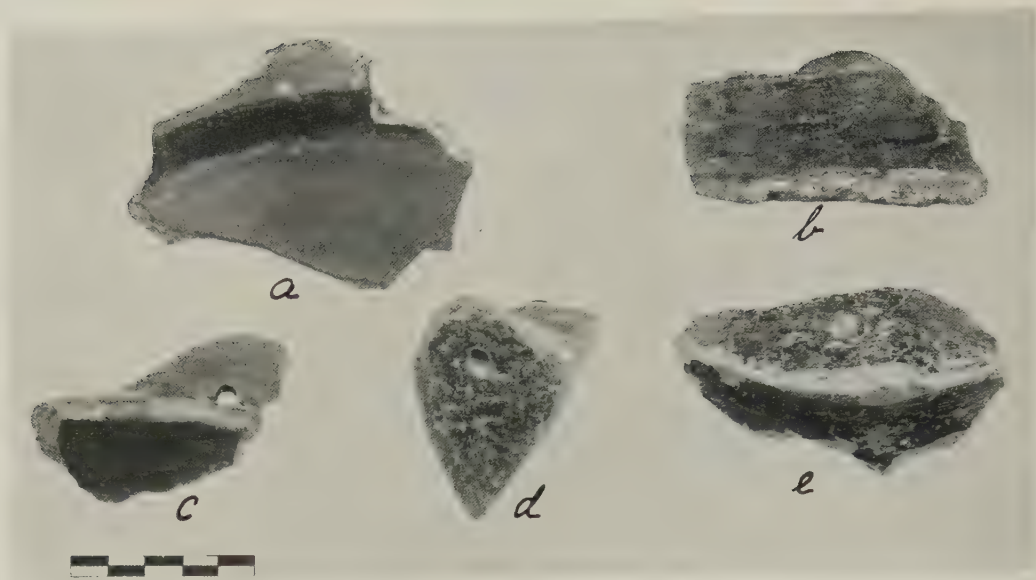


Fig. 30. Sherds of Red Monochrome Ware, Middle Helladic Period

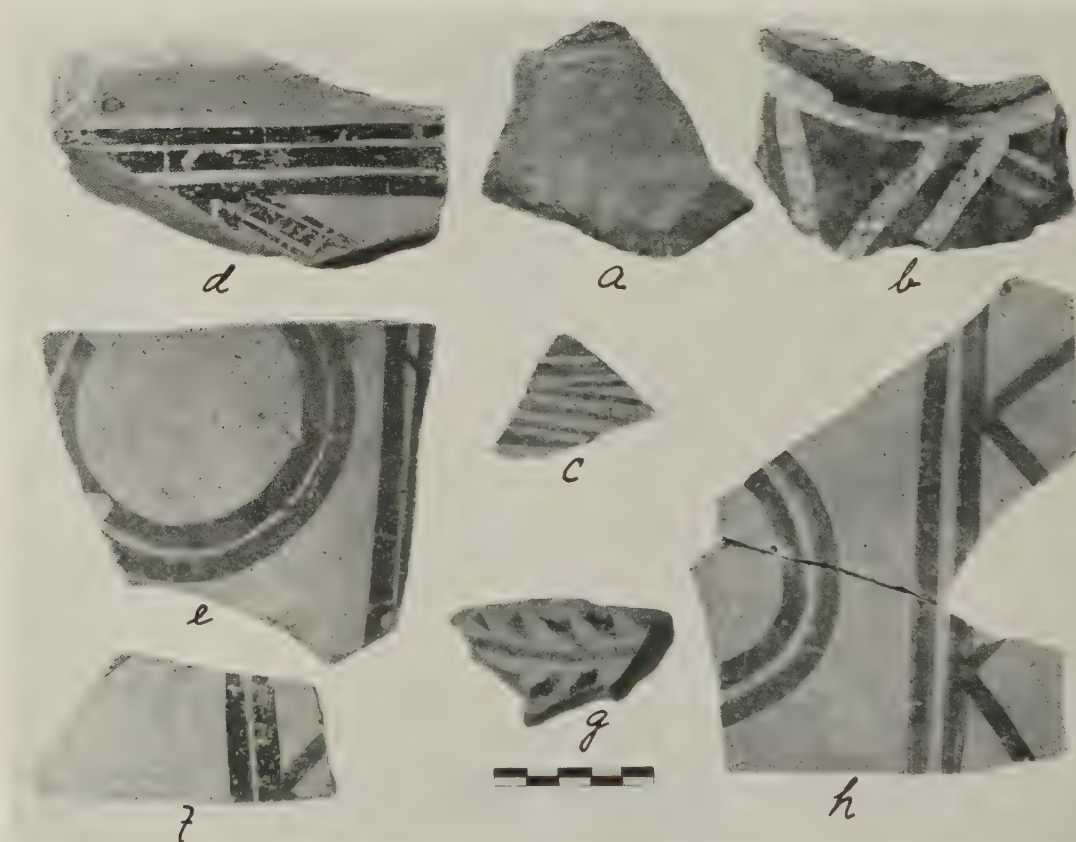


Fig. 31. Sherds of Matt-Painted Ware, Middle Helladic Period

figure 30 b, is part of the ringed stem of a goblet. Sherds of shallow saucers or plates (Fig. 30 a) of various profiles are numerous. Another common shape is the shallow bowl with two pierced lugs (Fig. 30 c-c) projecting from the shoulder of the vase.

Apart from the coarse household pottery the most common type belonging to the Middle Helladic period is the matt-painted ware. Large fragments of pithoi, decorated

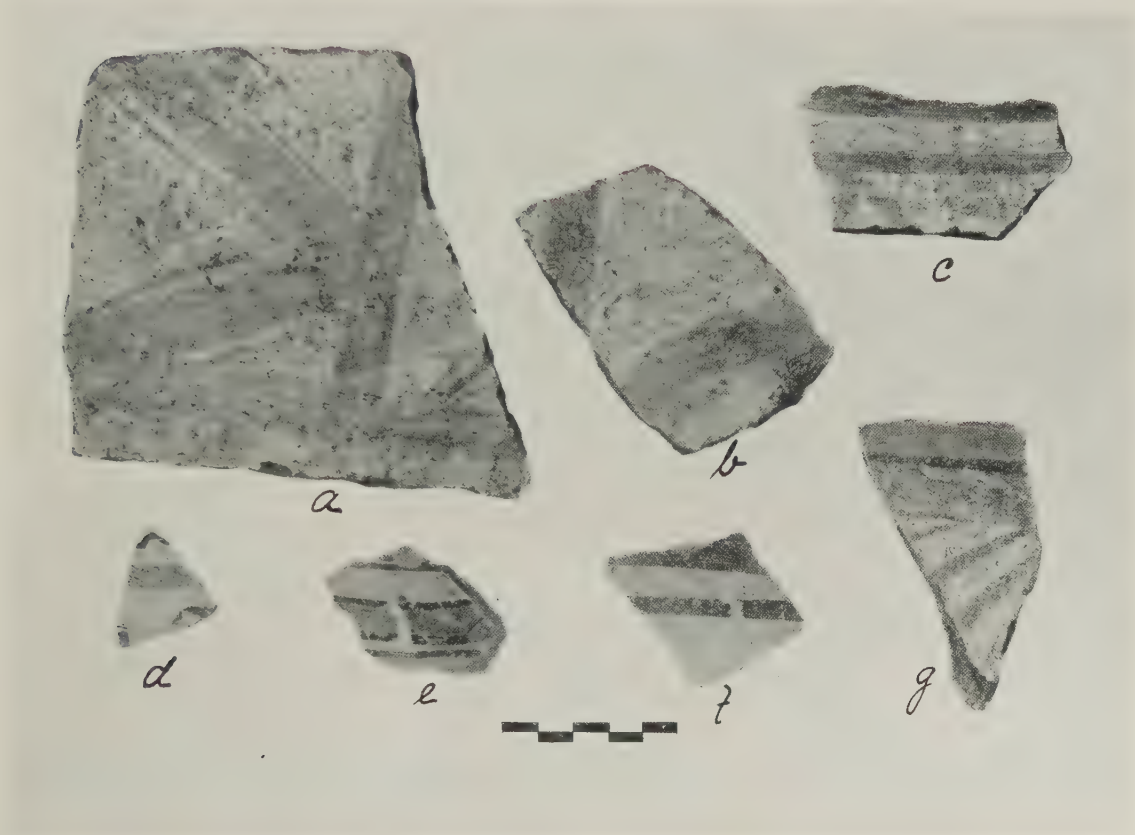


Fig. 32. Sherds of Matt-Painted Ware, Middle Helladic Period

with geometric patterns in dull black paint, are very numerous (Fig. 31 d-h).¹ The clay, which is light buff in color, contains a great deal of sand and gritty material. A less common variety is made of a coarse red clay covered on the outside with a thick slip of a light, almost white color which serves as the background for the decoration (Fig. 32 a-c). The slip, which seems to consist of a simple clay wash, rubs off very easily and with it the painted designs disappear. It seems not unlikely that this ware, which in clay and fabric resembles the undecorated household pottery, was made in

¹ C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 19, M. H., B I.

imitation of the more common variety of matt-painted ware. The finer pottery with matt-painted decoration (Fig. 33) is also represented by a large number of sherds.¹ The color of the clay varies more than in the preceding class. Most sherds are of a pale yellow color (Fig. 33 c, e-h, j) but some are reddish buff (Fig. 33 b) or light brown (Fig. 33 d, i), and in a few cases the color shifts between yellow and light red (Fig. 33 a).

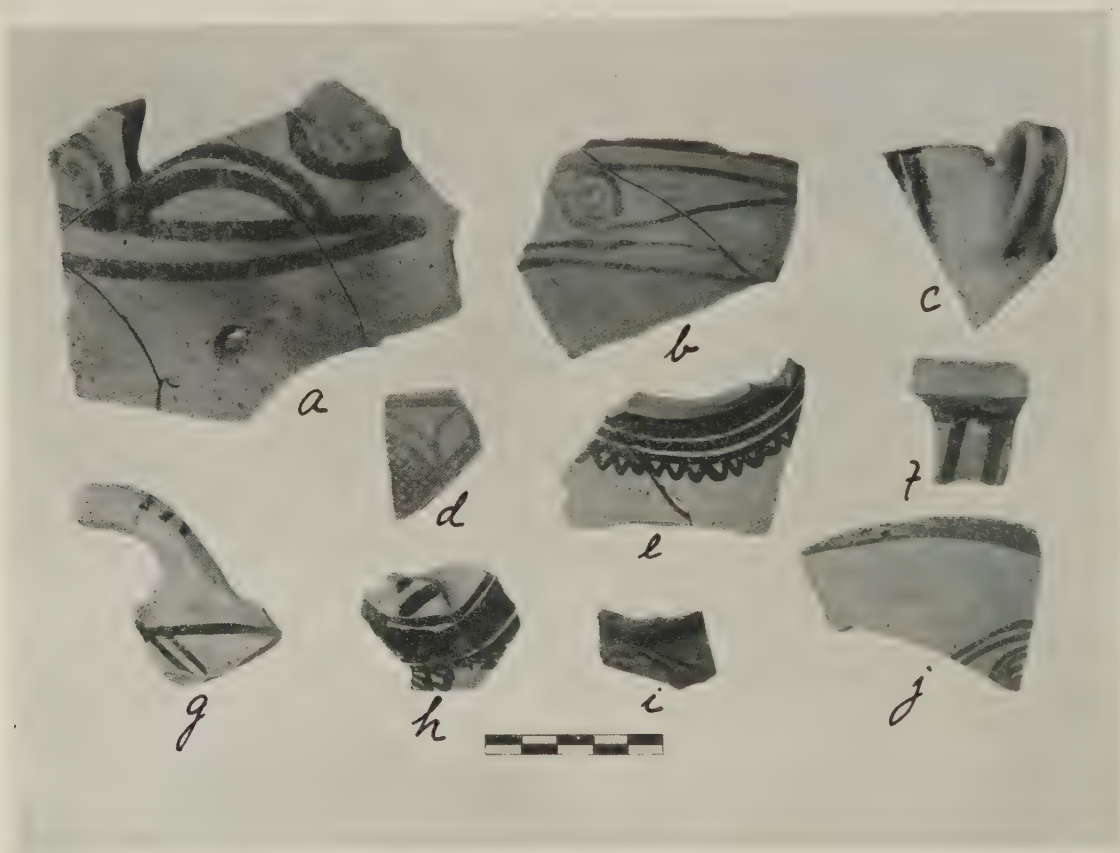


Fig. 33. Sherds of Matt-Painted Ware, Middle Helladic Period

The shapes of the vases and the patterns vary considerably. The shape of the handle shown in figure 33 g resembles a type of handle common among the Minyan ware (Figs. 28 e, h and 34 b) although the shape of the vase is probably different.² A few sherds with polychrome decoration³ (Fig. 32 d-g) were also found. Only two colors occur, a dark brown, almost black, and a purplish red. Equally rare are the sherds with

¹ C. W. Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 24, M. H., B II.

² Cf. C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 131, fig. 123. For the decoration on the fragment in figure 33 a, cf. H. Goldman, *Entresis*, p. 160, fig. 224.

³ C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 28, Middle Helladic, B III.

light decoration on a dark background (Fig. 31 a—c). They belong to large pots of rather coarse fabric. The background is covered with a thin, dark brown color, on which simple designs in white lustreless paint are applied.

Sherds of the Yellow Minyan type of ware are very common, but it is difficult without evidence from stratification, to determine to what period they belong. It is probable that most of this ware is Mycenaean, but some fragments are certainly earlier. Three typical examples are shown in figure 34. The clay is fine and well levigated and the surface well polished. The color varies between pale yellow and light brown. The goblet on low stem seems to have been the most common shape (Fig. 34 a, c). The handle shown in figure 34 b probably belongs to a goblet on high stem (cf. Fig. 28 e, h). A small cup, shown in figure 35 b, with a flat, vertical handle should probably be classed with the Yellow Minyan. The clay is of a reddish color and rather coarse, and the surface is well polished. The vase was found in the fill at N, Plate XI (cf. p. 346) together with large quantities of sherds, the bulk of which, to judge from the decorated pieces, was Middle Helladic. An interesting vase also related to the Yellow Minyan ware is shown in figure 35 a. It is a large askos of a shape which occurs in the late Mycenaean period.¹ The body of the vase, which is perfectly round, was made on the wheel. The clay is reddish buff in color, and the surface is highly polished. Since this vase was found among the late Mycenaean pottery at the top of the stairway it can hardly be earlier than the third Late Helladic period.

Of the early Mycenaean pottery very few sherds were found. Three fragments of shallow cups (Fig. 36 a—c), which show traces of white paint applied on the brown glaze, belong to the first Mycenaean period (L. H. I), the other sherds shown in figure 36 are probably all Late Helladic II. Two small pieces (Fig. 36 g, h) belong to Ephyraean



Fig. 34. Sherds of Yellow Minyan Ware

¹ Cf. C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 67, fig. 97; G. E. Mylonas, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, A, p. 130, fig. 109, No. 378.

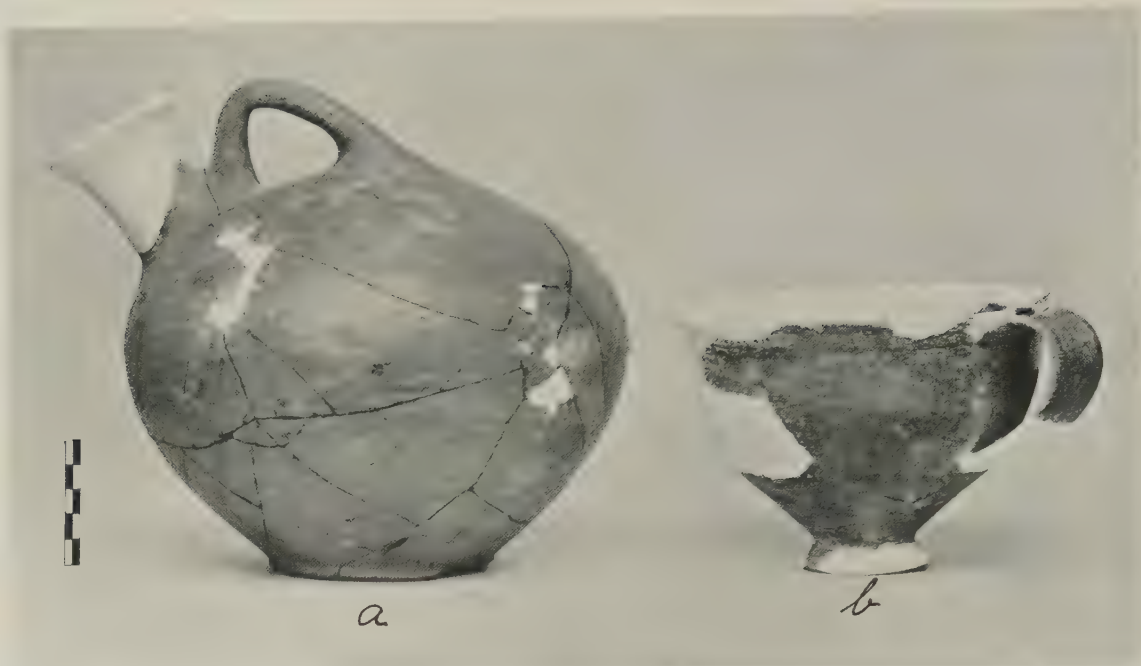


Fig. 35. Two Undecorated Vases



Fig. 36. Sherds of Early Mycenaean Ware, Late Helladic I and II

goblets. One fragment (Fig. 36 I) of rather heavy fabric preserves part of a net pattern with small dots in the corners of the squares. It is difficult to decide whether this fragment should be classed with the second or with the third Mycenaean period. The pattern, which is not very common, occurs on a three-handled jar from Mycenae, now in the Nauplia Museum.¹

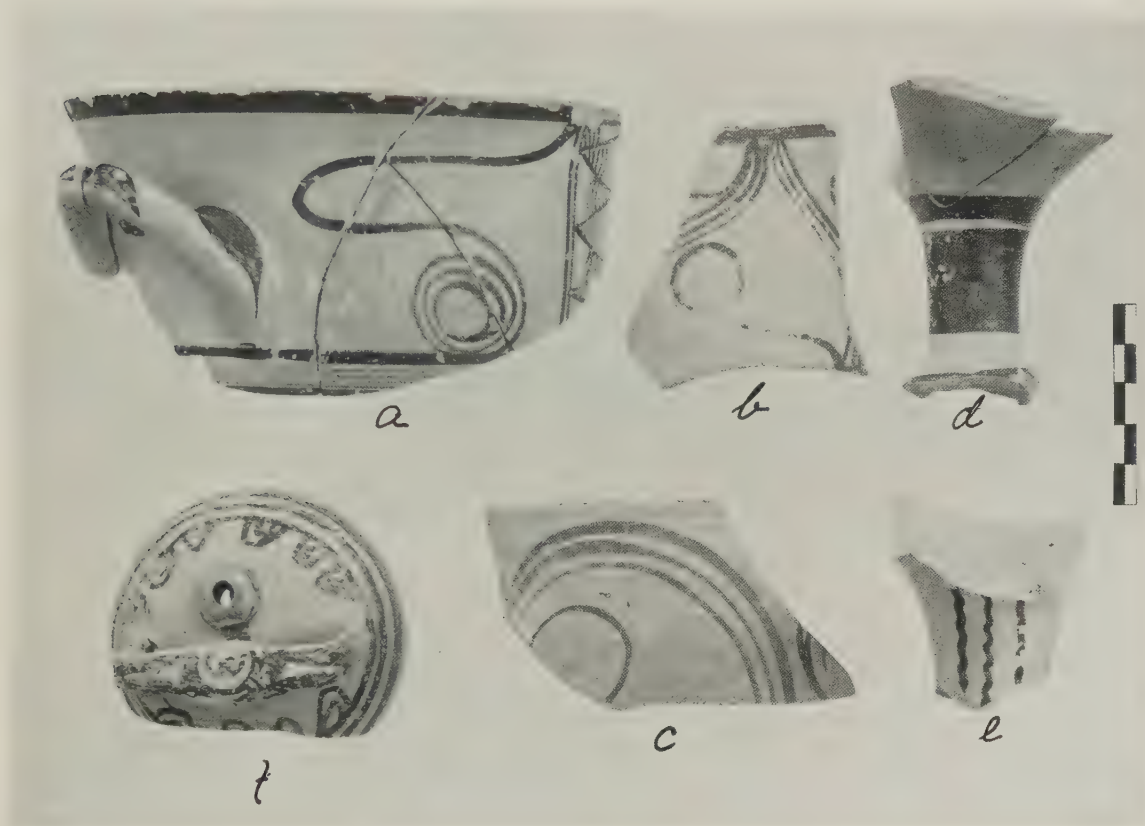


Fig. 37. Sherds of Mycenaean Ware, Late Helladic III

The pottery belonging to the third Late Helladic period is very abundant. An important chronological division of this ware is obtained through the floor levels at the top and at the bottom of the Mycenaean stairway and in the small room at C, Plate I. The pottery from the deposit resting directly on these floors is all very late. The comparatively large number of whole vases which came out of this fill constitutes an important addition to our knowledge of the pottery in use in Athens near the end of the Mycenaean period. Of the earlier, more elaborately decorated pottery numerous

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Mogens Mackeprang for calling my attention to the vase from Mycenae. It has recently been published by A. J. B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 103, pl. LI, 3.

sherds were found but no whole vases. Some of the typical patterns are shown in figures 37 and 38. By far the most common shape is the deep bowl with two handles (Figs. 37 a-c and 38 a, b, d, h-l). The kylix, which is also very common, is in most cases unpainted, but a few decorated fragments were found (Fig. 37 d, e). The shallow bowl with two handles and a spout (cf. Fig. 43 c) is also represented by several fragments

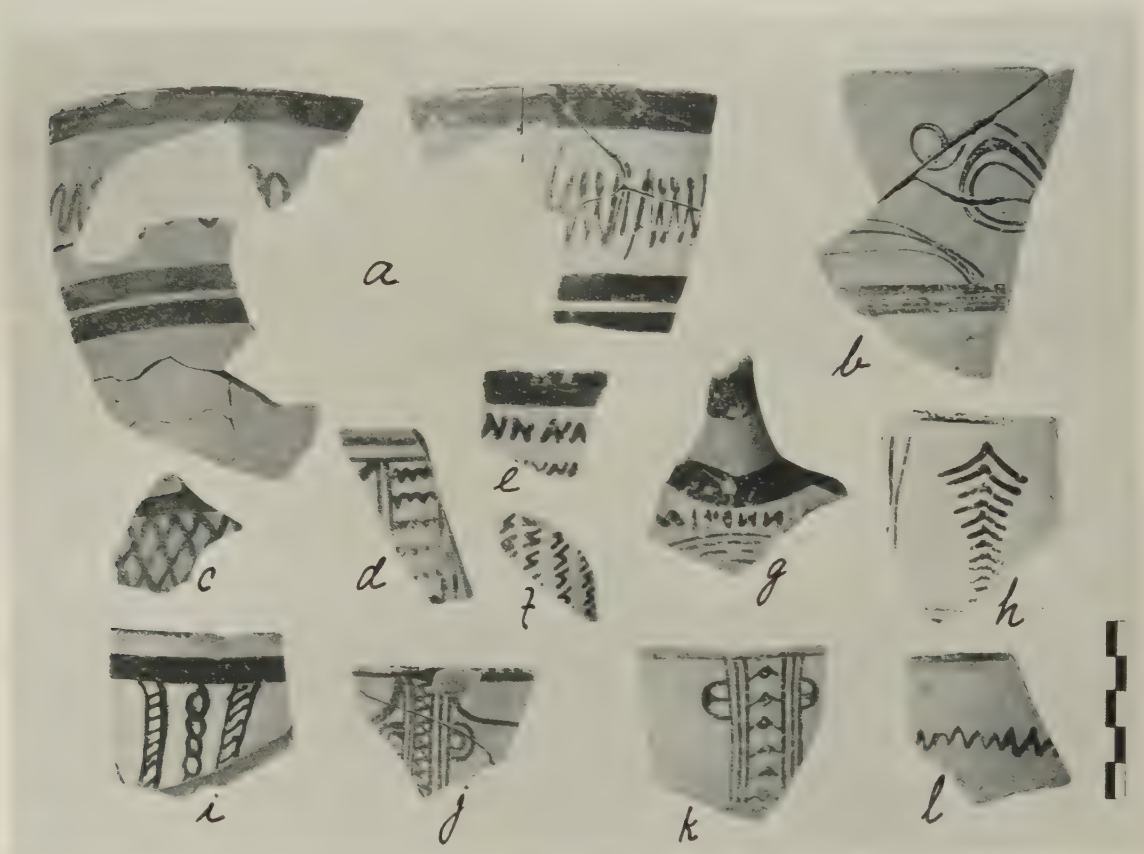


Fig. 38. Sherds of Mycenaean Ware, Late Helladic III

(Fig. 38 g). The stirrup vase retained its shape till near the end of the period. Both the squat variety and the more globular kind occur. But the specimen shown in figure 37 f belongs to the later phase of the third Late Helladic period (cf. Fig. 43 a).

The vases found in the late deposit at points A, B and C, Plate XI, are characterized by simple decorations which in most cases consist of horizontal bands encircling the body of the vase. Where more complicated patterns occur there is a marked decline in the rendering of the designs. A good example of this kind is shown in figure 39 a. On the body of the vase between rows of parallel lines is a kind of chain pattern, very crudely

and carelessly drawn.¹ Equally poor is the dotted design on the shoulder of the stirrup-vase shown in figure 43 b. A common type of decoration on the stirrup-vases is a row of poorly rendered concentric half-circles (Figs. 37 f and 43 a). This pattern, which continued in vogue from late Mycenaean times into the subsequent period, is one of the characteristic types of decoration of Proto-Geometric vases. On the Mycenaean vases it is carelessly drawn by hand, whereas the half-circles on the Proto-Geometric ware are accurately rendered by means of a compass. Another pattern which also was taken



Fig. 39. Two Late Mycenaean Vases (L. H. III)

over by the makers of the Proto-Geometric pottery is the wavy line² on the body of the vase (Fig. 42 a and b).

The more common shapes, illustrated in figures 39 to 45, are the following:

1. Open jar or pyxis (Fig. 39 a) with vertical sides and two bow handles applied on the side of the vase and extending above the shoulder. The shape is not very

¹ This pattern, which is not very common on Mycenaean vases, seems to have developed from a double row of connected spirals found on earlier vases; see Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Tongefäße*, pl. I, 1; and cf. C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 45, fig. 61, 2.

² Both the half circles and the wavy lines are found on a Proto-Geometric amphora from the excavations in the Athenian Agora, cf. T. L. Shear, *A. J. A.* XXXVI, 1932, p. 387, fig. 5, A. Cf. also some vases found in Proto-Geometric graves in the Kerameikos, *Arch. Anz.* XLVII, 1932, p. 202, figs. 8, 9; p. 206, fig. 12. An intermediate stage in the development of these designs is shown by some vases of the Salamis type which are later than those from our excavation. Two vases of the Salamis style from the Athenian Acropolis are typical examples of the intermediate stage, Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, pl. 8, Nos. 237, 239; O. Montelius, *La Grèce Préclassique*, pl. 107, 7 and 9.

rare,¹ but the type of handle is most unusual on Mycenaean vases. One vase of the same shape and with the same kind of handle was found on the Acropolis,² and small fragments of three similar vases came out of our excavation on the North Slope. This shows that this shape of handle was common in Athens, although it seems not to have been in use at other sites on the mainland of Greece.³

2. Squat jar (Fig. 39 b) with vertical sides and three handles on the shoulder. This is a variation of the preceding shape. Similar vases have been found at many Mycenaean sites, and they seem to have been common in Athens.⁴



Fig. 40. Two Pitchers, Late Mycenaean (L. H. III)

3. Pitchers with a handle extending from the shoulder to the neck (Fig. 40 b) or to the lip (Fig. 40 a). The decoration consists mainly of parallel lines.
4. Deep bowls (Fig. 41) with two handles extending diagonally from the body of the vase. The interior is often painted, but in some cases there is only a painted band at the rim both within and without. The handles are, as a rule, partly painted, and one or more bands often surround the vase on the outside. The

¹ Cf. C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 70, fig. 101; H. Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 189, fig. 263, 1.

² Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XVI, 104; O. Montelius, *op. cit.*, pl. 108, 7.

³ The same kind of handle occurs on vases of a somewhat similar shape from Crete, L. Pernier, *Mon. Ant.* XII, 1902, p. 117, fig. 46; S. A. Xanthoudides, *Ἐρμ. Αρχ.*, 1904, p. 35, pl. 3. Xanthoudides called the vase geometric. Cf. the Proto-Geometric vase from Kerameikos, *Arch. Anz.* XLVII, 1932, p. 202, fig. 8.

⁴ Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.* pl. 4, No. 161; O. Montelius, *op. cit.* pls. 107, 5 and 109, 4. A similar vase also with a simple net pattern on the shoulder was found on the island of Euboea, O. Montelius, *op. cit.* pl. 101, 3.

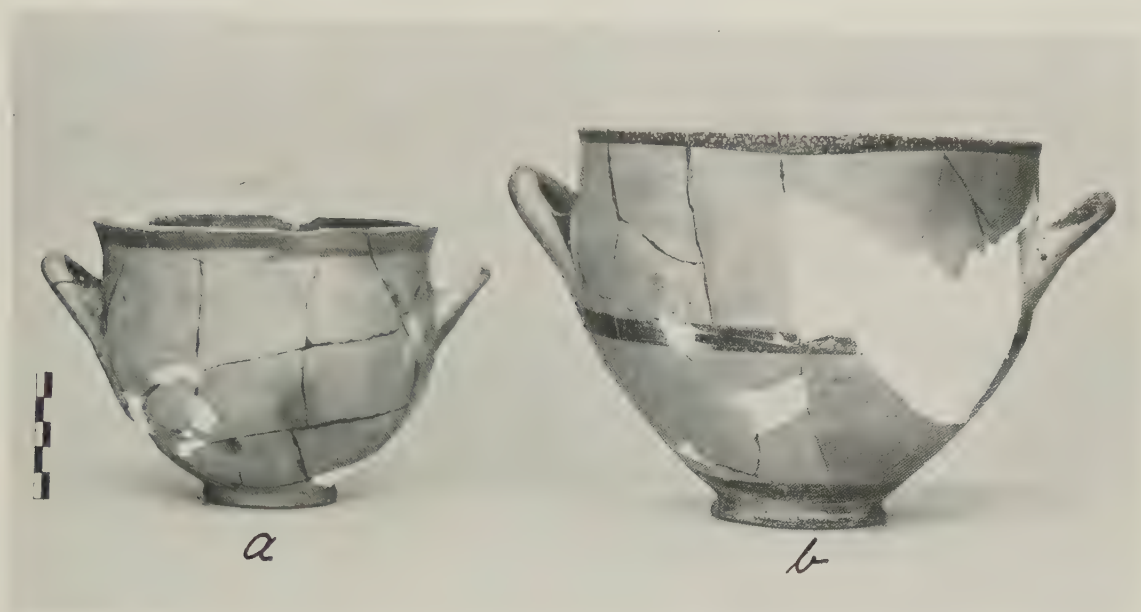


Fig. 41. Two Deep Bowls, Late Mycenaean (L. H. III.)



Fig. 42. Two Large Bowls with Spout, Late Mycenaean (L. H. III)

shape, which was one of the most common in the third Late Helladic period, continued in use into the early Iron Age.

5. Large bowls (Fig. 42) with two handles and a spout. The rim is flat and projects toward the outside. The decoration consists of parallel bands and wavy lines.
6. Small shallow bowls (Fig. 43 c) with a spout and two handles projecting horizontally from the rim. The spout is sometimes bridged by the rim, sometimes left open (cf. Fig. 38 g). The decoration consists of parallel lines both inside and outside. Fragments of undecorated vases of the same shape were also found.



Fig. 43. Three Late Mycenaean Vases (L. H. III)

7. Stirrup-vases with simple decorations, consisting chiefly of parallel lines, but usually with a different pattern on the shoulder. The body is either squat with broad, flat top (Fig. 43 a) or globular (Figs. 43 b and 37 f).
8. Among the undecorated vases the kylix is the most common shape. Two distinct types occur:¹ The tall slender kylix on high stem (Fig. 44 a) with the body merging gradually into the stem and with two vertical handles; and the low variety, with a single handle and with a sharp bend at the shoulder (Fig. 44 b). The two varieties are about equally common. Although made on the wheel they are in many cases bent out of shape in the firing.
9. Another very common shape is the deep cup or ladle (Fig. 44 c) with a high loop-handle extending vertically from the rim. The sides of the vessel continue in an unbroken curve to the bottom which is without base. Since the vase cannot stand by itself it was probably intended to be suspended by the handle when not in use. Some of these vases show traces of paint, but the clay is so soft that the decoration has largely peeled off. Vases of a somewhat similar shape have been found at

¹ C. W. Blegen (*Zygouries*, pp. 151 ff.) divides the shapes into three types, but the distinction between the first two is not always obvious. Some specimens resembling his type *a* with a slight inward curve at the shoulder were also found in our excavation.

other Mycenaean sites, but usually they are set on a low base.¹ On some specimens from our excavation the rim curves toward the outside. The shape is much the same as that of some ladles of Yellow Minyan ware from Korakou,² which, however, have a flattened base.

10. Large water jars with two horizontal handles below the shoulder and one vertical handle attached to the shoulder and the neck.³ The decoration, which consists of horizontal bands, has in most cases peeled off.



Fig. 44. Three Undecorated Vases (L. H. III)

11. Cooking vessels set on three feet, and with one or two vertical handles extending from the shoulder to the rim. Two almost complete vases of this kind were found on the floor, one (Fig. 45 b) at the bottom of the stairway, and the other (Fig. 45 a) in the room at point C, Plate XI. The clay is coarse and gritty, of a grayish brown color turned to black where the vase was most exposed to the smoke. Several fragments of other similar vessels were also discovered. The shape is not uncommon,⁴ but on account of the crumbly nature of the fabric, partly caused by long exposure to heat, these vases are seldom found in good condition.

¹ C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 154, fig. 144; G. E. Mylonas, *op. cit.* p. 134, fig. 114, No. 395; O. Montelius, *op. cit.* pls. 99, 12 and 114, 4.

² C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 19, fig. 26. Cf. H. Goldman, *op. cit.* p. 177, fig. 245, 1 and 2.

³ For the shape see C. W. Blegen, *op. cit.* p. 69, fig. 100.

⁴ Cf. H. Goldman, *op. cit.* p. 189, fig. 263, 6; G. E. Mylonas, *op. cit.* p. 84, fig. 62, 1-3; A. J. B. Wace, *B. S. A.* XXV, 1921-1923, pl. VIII b; O. Montelius, *op. cit.* pl. 85, 7.

The late Mycenaean vases discussed above are closely related to the so-called Granary Class from Mycenae,¹ but some important differences can be pointed out. The "Close Style," which is one of the characteristic types of decoration of the Granary Class, is entirely lacking among our vases from the North Slope. Likewise the deep bowls painted within and without, except for some reserved lines on both sides of the rim, also common among the Granary Class, are conspicuously absent from among our vases. On the other hand, the kylix, which is a rare shape in the Granary Class,² is perhaps the most common



Fig. 45. Two Cooking Vessels (L. II. III)

type from the North Slope. The disappearance of the kylix is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Granary Class. In view of these facts our "North Slope Ware" must be dated somewhat earlier than the bulk of the pottery from the Granary at Mycenae.

INSCRIPTIONS³

1. Figs. 46-48. Marble pedestal, discovered April 28, 1931, in the wall of the Acropolis *ca.* 8 m. northwest of the Mycenaean stairway, now in the Annex of the Acropolis Museum. Height of letters, 0.02 m.

¹ A. J. B. Wace, *B. S. A.* XXV, 1921-1923, pp. 38 ff.

² The few specimens found in the Granary at Mycenae are of a debased form, cf. A. J. B. Wace, *op. cit.* pp. 34, 52, pl. X c.

³ I am under obligation to Professor B. D. Meritt for valuable assistance in the study of the inscriptions, particularly for the identification of Nos. 5 and 12.

ἡεῖδῶ μ' ἀνέθηκεν

The letters are carefully cut and filled with red color. The letter forms indicate a date about the middle of the sixth century B.C., although the closed form of the rough breathing is usually dated earlier. The name *Eἰδῶ* seems to be otherwise unknown, but *Eιδῶ* with the smooth breathing occurs.¹ The latter form is explained by the grammarians as a diminutive of *Eιδόθεα*. Etymologically it is the feminine form of *Eιδῶν*.² The rough breathing in *Eἰδῶ* is probably derived from the *digamma* which originally belonged to the stem of this word.

The pedestal was imbedded in mortar near the bottom of the wall with only the top showing. A cutting for a statuette revealed the nature of the block. The inscription is cut on the narrow side of the pedestal, and the cutting in the top shows that the statuette was turned toward the inscribed side. The pedestal was broken into six pieces by the weight of the wall blocks laid above it. Because of the comparatively small size of the pieces it was possible to dig away



Fig. 47. Marble Base from Acropolis Wall

Fig. 46. Inscription
No. 1

the mortar on the sides and extract the pedestal piece by piece. A marble base (Fig. 47) which seems to belong to it was found in the wall close to the pedestal. The base is of island marble, whereas the marble of the pedestal seems to be Pentelic. The cutting in the top of the base shows that another block was inserted into it. The second block was not discovered. The lowest part of the pedestal, which was leaded into the block below, is also missing, but the lost portion was probably very small. The height of the missing block is, of course, unknown, but the restored drawing in figure 48 cannot be far from correct if the base and the pedestal belong together. From the cutting in the top two small holes extend downward and open on the side of the pedestal. The purpose of these holes can be explained on the

¹ Pape, *Griechische Eigennamen*, s. v.

² Analogous forms are: *Ἰερώ* from *Ἰέρων*, *Νιχώ* from *Νίκων*, *Ἰώ* from *Ἰων*, etc.

assumption that the statuette was of bronze. The bases of archaic bronze figures are often provided with small rivets for fastening the figure to the pedestal. The holes can hardly have had anything to do with the pouring of the lead, which must have been done from the top, but must have been made for the insertion of bronze rivets.

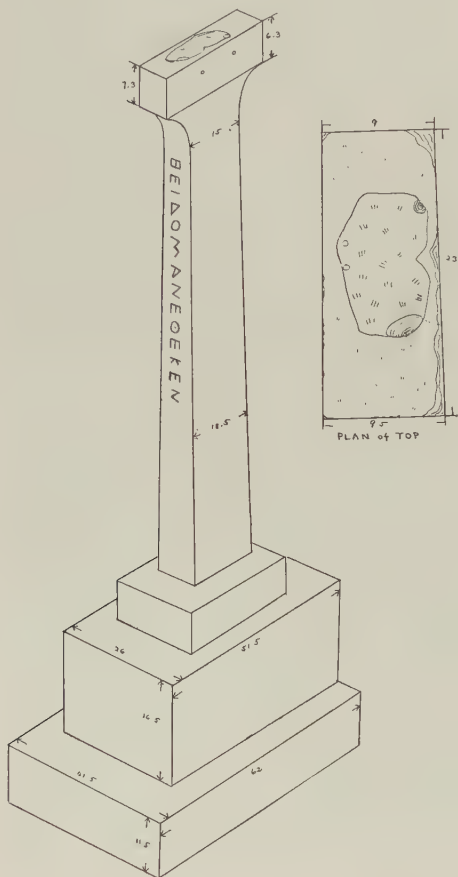


Fig. 48. Inscribed Pedestal and Base
(Restored)

2. Fig. 49. E. M. 12724. Fragment of white marble found March 15, 1932, north of the east entrance to the cave.

Height, 0.032 m.; width, 0.012 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

The only preserved letter is a *nu* retrograde, probably from the word *ἀνέθενεν*. The shape of the marble is peculiar. At the bottom and at the left side the surface is smoothly finished and at the top is an *anathyrosis*, which, however, does not extend to the right end of the fragment.

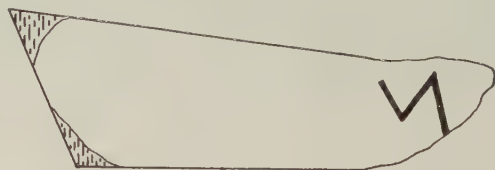


Fig. 49. Inscription No. 2

3. Fig. 50. E. M. 12710. Small fragment of inscription on white marble found May 1, 1931, near the east entrance to the cave.



Fig. 50. Inscription No. 3

--- ἀνέθ]εχ[ε]

Part of the top is preserved. The inscription probably belongs to the early part of the fifth century B.C.

4. Fig. 51. Fragment of inscription on white island marble built into the Acropolis wall directly above the Mycenaean stairway.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.



--- ἀνέθ]εκεν ἀπ[αρχέν

Fig. 51. Inscription No. 4

5. Fig. 52. E. M. 12720. Small fragment of Pentelic marble found March 10, 1932, slightly north of the east entrance to the cave.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m. *Stoichedon*.



-- Φιάλαι χρυσ]αῖ ||[-----

[ἀπορραντέριο]ν ἀργ[υρῶν -----

Vacat

[τάδε παρέδοσαν] καὶ τε[τέταρες] -----Παρα]

[θέναια τοῖς ταμί]ας[ιν -----

Fig. 52. Inscription No. 5

It belongs to the treasure-records of the Hekatompedon for the years 431/30—430/29 B.C. The letters preserved on the fragment fit the restoration made by Woodward, who published a small piece of the same record.¹

¹ *J.H.S.* XXXI, 1911, p. 35, No. 2, and plate facing p. 40; cf. *I.G.* I² 259, 260.

6. Fig. 53. E. M. 12721. Small fragment of Pentelic marble found March 16, 1932, north of the east entrance to the cave.



Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.
Height of letters, 0.011 m. *Stoichedon*.

---- KA ----
--- EN ---
---- T ----
---- OX ----
---- YE ----
---- Y ----

The letters resemble those of No. 5, but the lines are somewhat closer together. It probably belongs to the same treasury records. The right edge, which is smooth, comes in the middle of a vertical line of letters. Apparently this smoothly chiseled edge was made for a late use of the stone.

Fig. 53. Inscription No. 6

7. Fig. 54. E. M. 12735. Small fragment of white marble found October 5, 1932, in the lower area.



Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. *Stoichedon*.

----- ! -----
----- E -----
----- I -----

The shape and size of the letters indicate that the fragment belongs to some document from the second half of the fifth century B.C.

Fig. 54. Inscription No. 7

8. Fig. 55. E. M. 12729. Small fragment of white marble found September 17, 1932, in the late fill of the middle area.



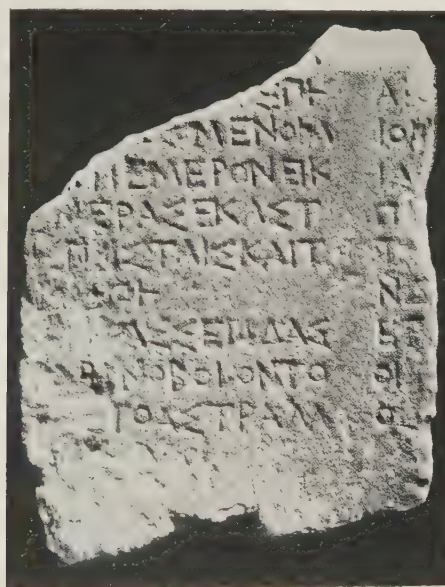
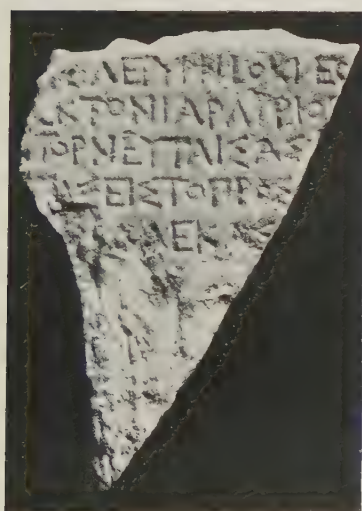
Fig. 55.
Inscription No. 8

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.
Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m. *Stoichedon.*

----- Ι Ι
----- Γ Ε
----- Ο Ι
----- Ρ Ι
----- Τ Τ
----- Υ

Part of the right side of the stele is preserved, but the back is broken away. The letter forms indicate that the fragment belongs to the second half of the fifth century B.C.

9. Figs. 56–59. E. M. 12708. Small fragment of white marble found April 28, 1931, in the surface soil near the Acropolis wall to the northeast of the Mycenaean stairway. Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.012 m. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m. *Non-Stoichedon.*



a

Fig. 56. Inscription No. 9 and E. M. 12563

b

--- ς Π†
 --- εσομένοι μ-
 --- ημερόν ειπ-

5 [οσι τρίον δραχμῶν τῷς ἡε]μέρας ἐκάστ-
 [ε]ς Γέρνι Φιλοκλέο[ς ΔΔΗ†]†· πρίσταις καὶ τ-
 ἐκτονι ἀργυρίο κ[εφάλαιον] Π†
 τορνεύταις ἀσ[τραγάλο τῷ ε]ἰ[ς τ]ὰς σελίδας
 τὰς εἰς τὸ προσ[τόμιον, τεττ]άρων ὀβόλων τὸ-
 [μ πό]δα ἕκασ[τον· σύμπαν]τος τῷ ἀστραγά-

The style of lettering and the contents show that it belongs to the Erechtheum accounts. A small fragment (Fig. 56 b) published for the first time by Caskey¹ contains part of the right side of one column and a few letters at the left edge of the next column. The last five lines in this fragment fit so well the five lines in the new piece² that there can be no doubt that the two belong together. Both fragments preserve part of the bottom

ΞΠ†	ΑΡϷ
ΕΞΟΜΕΝΟΙΜ	ΙΟΜ
ΗΕΜΕΡΟΝΕΙΚ	ΙΑ
ΟΞΙΤΡΙΟΝ ΔΡΑΧΜΕΝΤΕΞΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΕΚΑΣΤ	Π:
ΕΞΛΕΡΥΙΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΔΔΗ† ΠΡΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙΤ	Τ
ΕΚΤΟΝΙΑΡΓΥΡΙΟ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Π†	ΝΔ
ΤΟΡΝΕΥΤΑΙΣ ΑΣΤΡΑΓΑΛΟΤΟΙΣ ΤΑΣΣΕΛΙΔΑΣ	ΗΕ
ΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΠΡΟΣΤΟΜΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΟΝ ΟΒΟΛΟΝ ΤΟ	ΟΙ
ΜΡΟΔΑ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟ ΣΤΟΑΣ ΤΡΑΛΑ	ΟΖ

Fig. 57. Inscription No. 9 and E. M. 12563 (Restored)

of a column; both are thin slabs which have flaked off from the stele at a natural fault in the marble; and both are weathered in the same way, at the bottom more than at the top. These combined facts are sufficient warrant for the assumption that the two fragments come very close together in the stele, and the contents as shown in figure 57 leave no room for doubt in the matter. What remains to be decided is the correct restoration of the missing portion between the two fragments and the placing of the fragments in the stele.

In the first four lines of fragment XII small payments to sawyers are recorded, the total sum of which together with a payment to a carpenter is given in line 6. What is preserved in line 2, however, is difficult to fit into such a passage. The letters are well

¹ Inventory No. 12563. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, frg. XII, pp. 327, 342, 343.

² This will henceforth be referred to as fragment XII¹.

preserved with the exception of the first *epsilon*. Unless there is a misspelling (*e.g. sigma* instead of *zeta*), the letters -*εσομενοι* can hardly be anything but part of a future participle or possibly a proper name in the dative case.¹ The number of days in line 4 and the numeral in line 5 are given *exempli gratia* in order to show how the lines might be restored.

The name Gerys, which occurs in line 5, is known from other parts of the inscription, but here, for the first time, we have definite proof that two men with this unusual name worked on the Erechtheum. One, the slave² of Phalakros,³ was a stone cutter engaged in the channeling of the columns; the other, a slave of Philokles, was a carpenter.⁴ His name occurs together with those of Kroisos and Mikion,⁵ the former of whom certainly, the latter probably, belonged to Philokles. Inasmuch as Gerys is elsewhere referred to as a carpenter, it is likely that he is the *τέκτων* mentioned in line 6, rather than one of the sawyers.

In line 7 begins an account of payment to turners who received the seemingly high price of four obols per foot for the turning of astragals. In several instances the astragals are referred to as already turned in the lathe,⁶ but this is the only preserved part of the inscription in which payments for the turning of astragals are recorded.⁷ Furthermore, the astragals in this case were intended for the decoration of the ceiling beams (*σελίδες*), whereas in the other instances they were nailed on the "ladders," *i.e.* the frames of the coffers between the beams.⁸ In Caskey's restoration of the ceiling over the east cella,⁹ the beams are decorated with an egg-and-dart moulding at the upper edge, whereas the rest of the beam is plain. In the marble beams over the East Portico the astragal was omitted, and it is not unlikely that the wooden ceiling beams in the East Cella resembled those in the East Portico. The marble beams of the North Portico have a bead-and-reel (*ἀστρογάλος*) ornament below the egg-and-dart moulding,¹⁰ and the new fragment shows that some wooden ceiling beams were similarly decorated. This indicates that the ceiling mentioned in XII belonged to one of the rooms in the west part of the building.¹¹ The ceilings of the North Portico and of the west rooms were more

¹ Possibly some such word as *ἐγγνησομένοι* might have been used here (cf. frg. XVII ii, ll. 19, 20).

² In the translation given by Caskey these are incorrectly called "sons" of their masters. The error has been pointed out by Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XXXVI, 1932, p. 145, note 5.

³ L. D. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, pp. 384, XIV i; 392, XVII i, l. 73; 396, XVII ii, l. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 330, IX, l. 25; 340, XI iii, l. 29.

⁵ There seem to have been three men with the name Mikion working on the Erechtheum: M. living in Kollytos, M. living in Melite, and M. slave of Philokles, although it may be argued that the last named is identical with one of the other two.

⁶ *Erechtheum*, pp. 320, VII, ll. 2, 6; 336, XI i, ll. 31, 43; 338, XI ii, ll. 20, 25, 35, 48.

⁷ Fragment XXI (*Erechtheum*, pp. 377, 401), which probably contained similar items, is too small to be restored.

⁸ For the terms used in the inscription to denote the different parts of the wooden ceiling see *Erechtheum*, pp. 362 ff., 408 ff.

⁹ *Erechtheum*, pp. 366, 367, fig. 193.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 90, fig. 57, and pls. XXII, XXIII.

¹¹ It is hardly likely that *σέλις* in the new fragment refers to anything but the ceiling beams, although in other instances it seems to have a wider application, *Erechtheum*, p. 365.

elaborate than those of the East Portico and of the East Cella. The rosettes mentioned in the accounts of 408/7 were apparently used in one of the rooms toward the west which were reached through the North Portico where similar decorations adorned the ceiling.¹

In line 8 I have restored the word *προστόμιον*, although this term does not occur elsewhere in the inscription. It is difficult to see how *πρός* could here be used as a preposition, inasmuch as it is preceded by an article which, in turn, depends on another preposition. Besides, the space to be filled out is too small for anything that could be restored after *πρός* to give sense to the passage. Since the missing word obviously designates a certain part of the building for which the ceiling was made, and since the different rooms are elsewhere referred to with specific terms, it seems reasonable to assume that one of these terms was used here. In the Chandler inscription² the word *προστομιαῖον* clearly refers to a room or part of the building, although the exact identification of the room is a widely disputed point. But this word is too long to fit the space, and it seems not improbable that *προστόμιον* was used as its equivalent.³ Attempts have been made to distinguish between *προστόμιον*, which is supposed to refer to the opening above the *θάλασσα*, and *προστομιαῖον* (*οἶκημα*), the room in which this opening was found.⁴ This distinction is improbable, and if the two terms were in use, as seems likely from the inscriptions, they probably were used interchangeably.⁵ Two other architectural terms, *προστιάδιον* (diminutive of *προστάς*) and *πρόστοον*, may be suggested instead of *προστόμιον*. Neither of these, however, occurs elsewhere in the Erechtheum inscriptions, and if used they could only refer to an outside portico, whereas the ceiling under discussion belonged to an inside room. In view of these considerations it is preferable to restore *προστόμιον*, which in that case can only refer to one of the rooms in the west part of the building. The word *σύμπαντος* restored in the last line is conjectural. If correct it would be followed by the total number of feet and the whole sum paid for the work.

A glance at the lettering shows that the new fragment belongs to the accounts of the year 409/8. The same conclusion was reached by Caskey with regard to fragment XII, but no suggestion was offered by him for its position in the stele. Comparatively little remains of the building accounts for this year, and the placing of the separate fragments is beset with great difficulties. Several different arrangements have been suggested, the most recent of which is that of Dinsmoor,⁶ later adopted by Caskey. According to this scheme the accounts were written on a stele consisting of two slabs placed side by side.

¹ Cf. L. D. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, p. 364.

² *Erechtheum*, p. 288, II i, l. 71.

³ Similarly *πρόπυλον* and *προπύλαιον*, *τὰ πρόπυλα* and *τὰ προπύλαια* are used with little difference in meaning. The same is true of *πρόθυρον*, *τὰ πρόθυρα* and *τὰ προθύρεια*.

⁴ A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 196; L. D. Caskey, *op. cit.* p. 313.

⁵ The derivation of *προστομιαῖον* from *προστόμιον* depends on a false etymology. The former presupposes the existence of a feminine noun *προστομία*.

⁶ *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, pp. 247 ff.

To the first slab were assigned three fragments, VIII, IX, and X, and to the second slab one large fragment, XI. In a recent article by Dinsmoor¹ fragment XXVI was also attributed to the second slab. Both sides of the first slab were inscribed, each in five columns, but of the second only the back was inscribed. The reason for this peculiar arrangement is twofold. Two fragments, VIII and IX, seem to have anathyrosis on the left edge, whereas the right edge of fragment X is smooth. Furthermore, the first slab was opisthographic and fragment XI appears to be blank on one side. If this is correct the obvious conclusion is that the fragments belong to different slabs.² Dinsmoor explained the arrangement on the supposition that the second slab was added after it had become evident that the two sides of the first slab did not suffice for the record of the whole year. The new slab was added on the left side in order to permit the accounts to go on uninterruptedly from the back of the first slab to the back of the second. The front of the second slab was not needed and, consequently, remained uninscribed. But fragment XXVI which Dinsmoor now places at the lower right corner of the rear, *i.e.* inscribed, face of the second slab, shows that the account continued beyond the last column. Hence Dinsmoor was compelled to assume that a few lines were carried over to the front of the slab above the smooth face of fragment XI.

From repeated attempts at placing fragments XII and XII' in the stele as restored by Dinsmoor, it has become evident that a new and simpler arrangement of all the pieces is possible. The relative order of the large fragments can be determined from the contents and was correctly established by Michaelis as far back as 1889.³ Moreover, two of the fragments, VIII and IX, which preserve the left edge of the stele, certainly come near the beginning of the inscription, and fragment X has on good grounds been placed close to fragment IX.⁴ Thus far I accept Dinsmoor's arrangement, but a new reading of the last line in fragment IX adds a new and important item to the accounts. Caskey reads the letters $\sigma\sigma\epsilon\pi$ without suggesting the word or words to which they might belong. The first three letters are perfectly plain, but what appears like a π is only the top of two vertical strokes. The horizontal bar is the break at the edge of the stone, as appears from the fact that the vertical strokes project above it. Furthermore, a slanting stroke appears before the first *sigma*. This can only be part of an *alpha*, which makes the reading $\tau] \acute{\alpha}\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}[\delta\alpha\varsigma$ perfectly certain. Since the preceding line contains the sum total of the items stated above, it is evident that the last line is the beginning of a new heading, covering work on the ceiling. I suggest $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\omicron\sigma\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron - - - \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\rho\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\tilde{\omicron}\sigma\iota$,⁵ or something else with a similar meaning. The importance of this new reading will appear later.

¹ *A. J. A.* XXXVI, 1932, pp. 146 ff. Cf. L. D. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, pp. 417, 418, 422.

² Caskey (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, pp. 317 ff.) at first assumed that there were four slabs, each with four columns on the front, but later he gave up this arrangement and accepted that of Dinsmoor.

³ *Ath. Mitt.* XIV, 1889, pp. 349 ff.

⁴ Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, p. 248.

⁵ Cf. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, p. 380, XIII i, ll. 5, 6.

Fragment XI is placed by Dinsmoor in the second stele near the end of the account for the year. It is necessary to bear in mind that the compelling argument for this arrangement is the fact that the back of the fragment, though not broken away, appears not to have been inscribed, whereas fragment VIII was certainly opisthographic. If it can be shown that both sides of XI were inscribed, or, at least, that they might have been inscribed, no good reason remains for assuming that the fragments belong to two separate slabs.

Before taking up the positive arguments for a new arrangement of the fragments it is necessary to discuss in detail the arrangement proposed by Dinsmoor and the evidence on which it rests. Since Dinsmoor's scheme, first published in 1913¹ and since then generally accepted, supersedes all the previous attempts at arranging the fragments, we may disregard all the other proposed solutions and limit our discussion to that of Dinsmoor alone.

Fragments IX and X are so placed that the break at the top of the two pieces follows in a straight line which is one of the principal fractures of the stone. The relation of these two fragments to each other, which was first pointed out by Washburn,² is presumably correct, and the contents of VIII A and IX prove that the former precedes the latter in the same column. From the list of the unfinished work recorded in the Chandler inscription it is possible to determine that the items given in VIII A belong to the early part of the year,³ perhaps to the third prytany or earlier. Dinsmoor, from actual experiments, concluded that all the work preceding that recorded in VIII A could have been written in 95 lines. Although it is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy exactly how many separate items were recorded in the lost portion of the first column⁴ there is no reason for doubting that VIII A should come somewhere in the lower half of this column. It records the setting in place and the dressing of the surface of the frieze with its backers. Since the conclusion of this work and the sum total paid for it is apparently recorded in the first lines of IX, the two fragments must follow in the order proposed by Caskey⁵ and followed by Dinsmoor.⁶

The relation of VIII to IX is further indicated by the condition of the edge of the stone. The left edge of VIII, which preserves the full thickness of the stele, appears to have been cut back in the centre, leaving a raised band *ca.* 5 cm. wide on each side. This treatment has the superficial appearance of anathyrosis and has been so interpreted.⁷ It constitutes one of the chief arguments for the plurality or duality of the slabs of

¹ *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, pp. 247 ff.

² *A. J. A.* X, 1906, p. 2, note 2.

³ Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, p. 250.

⁴ The various items may have been grouped differently from those recorded in the preserved part of the stele, and the phraseology used in the inscription for similar kinds of work varies so much that an estimate based on actual experiments can only claim to approximate the facts of the case.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, p. 319, fig. 1.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 249, fig. 2; cf. *Erechtheum*, p. 325, fig. 186.

⁷ L. D. Caskey, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, p. 319; *Erechtheum*, p. 324; W. B. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* p. 248.

which the stele was composed. But it is difficult to believe that the raised bands at the edge of the stone would have been made so wide if the middle had been cut away to make proper contact with the adjoining slab. Can it really be a coincidence that the edges of the sunk surface correspond exactly to two parallel faults in the marble (Fig. 58)? Fragments VIII and IX are both badly weathered on all sides, and it is likely that this weathering took place while the stele stood upright on the Acropolis. But the left edge with its "anathyrosis" is weathered fully as much as the inscribed surface. If the edge had been fitted to another block, it ought to have been preserved from the action of the

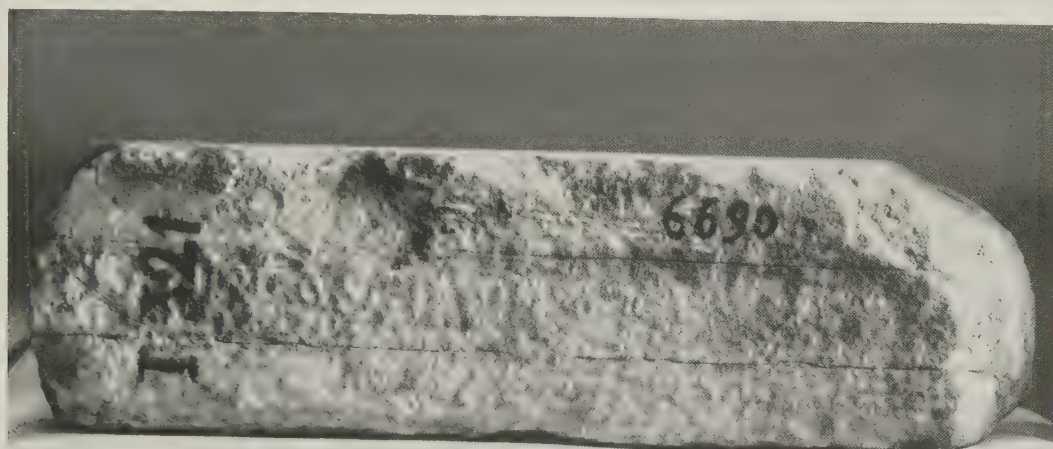


Fig. 58. Erechtheum Inscription, Fragment VIII, Left Edge

weather. If, on the other hand, the weathering took place after the stele had been broken up and removed, it is not likely that the two fragments would be equally weathered at the edge. Whatever is the reason for the sunk band in the middle—and it may be nothing more than the unequal weathering of the three layers of marble—it is highly improbable that it was intended as an anathyrosis and cannot, therefore, be considered valid proof that the stele consisted of two or more slabs.

Dinsmoor's arrangement of fragments VIII, IX and X indicates that the slab to which they belong had at least five columns of writing. He assumed that it had only five, although he had no proof for the exact number of columns nor for the width of the slab.

The largest fragment, XI, contains part of three columns and preserves part of the right edge of the stone. Since its back appears to be blank it seemed impossible that it could belong to the first slab which is opisthographic. Hence Dinsmoor assigned XI to the right side of a second slab and gave the following reasons for the arrangement: 'Now the explanation of the anathyrosis at the left edge of G + H (VIII + IX), where we need no earlier columns of accounts becomes clear. As in all the previous building

accounts, *e.g.* those of the Parthenon, the Propylaea, and probably also the original work on the Erechtheum, it was intended that the accounts should be inscribed on the obverse and reverse of a single slab; with the gradual lengthening of the prytany accounts, however, both obverse and reverse had been occupied while yet two prytanies, perhaps, remained to be inscribed. There was no alternative but to set up a second stele, to the left of the first with an anathyrosis joint between, and to continue on its reverse the accounts of the final prytanies, while the obverse remained blank. The reverse of G (VIII) was probably concerned with the stonework forming the beginning of the ninth prytany at the bottom of column x, while J (XI) contains parts of columns xiii–xv belonging to the tenth prytany.’

This arrangement is now modified through the assignment of fragment XXVI to the second stele.¹ Dinsmoor places it in the lower right corner under fragment XI. Certain irregularities of spelling he explains on the ground ‘that this last account of the year was not posted until the scribe of 408/7 had assumed office.’ This would seem to show that this fragment ought to come close to the end of the year. But we have no right to suppose that the accounts of one year were handled by the scribe of the succeeding year, and the irregularities of spelling can be explained on other grounds. The omission of the rough breathing occurs so many times in the accounts of this year as to require no comment. But the word $\delta\gamma\delta\acute{o}\rho\mu$ not only has the rough breathing but is spelled with an *eta* at the end. Similar ionicisms do not occur in the earlier accounts of the year, although they are frequent enough in the accounts of the year 408/7. There is, however, one instance of *eta* used as a vowel on the reverse of VIII. Only two letters, Η Κ, of the word could be read in 1906,² but this is enough to show that the Η cannot be a rough breathing. In fragments XII and XII’ which, as will appear later, probably belong to the same side of the stele as VIII B, the rough breathing is three times omitted, although there are no other cases of ionicism. Nevertheless, since there is one other example of the *eta* used as a vowel in the accounts of this year its occurrence in XXVI requires no further explanation.

Apart from the contents of the fragments, which will be discussed later, there are certain difficulties inherent in Dinsmoor’s arrangement which will disappear if it can be shown that all the fragments belong to a single stone. Dinsmoor himself admits that the original intention was to inscribe the accounts on the two sides of a single stele. The departure from this original plan was caused by the unexpected lengthening of the prytany accounts. But it is highly improbable that the accounts were inscribed on the stone before the end of the year when the required size of the stele could be accurately calculated. We know from two items in the inscription of the following year³ that the

¹ *A. J. A.* XXXVI, 1932, p. 147. It was first suggested by Bannier (*Rh. Mus.* 1906, p. 226) that XXVI belonged to the accounts of 409/8.

² Washburn (*A. J. A.* X, 1906, pl. III, l. 46). The two slanting strokes of the *kappa*, which appear in Washburn’s reproduction, are not clearly visible at present, but it is not unlikely that the soft flaky surface has suffered further damage since the inscription on the reverse was first discovered.

³ Fragment XVII i, ll. 30–32; ii, ll. 31–33.

accounts were first recorded on some perishable material. Moreover, if the accounts of the first five and a half prytanies could be written in five columns, as Dinsmoor concluded,¹ is it likely that it would require more than ten columns for the items of the last four and a half prytanies, and that the whole reverse and a small part of the obverse of the second slab would be occupied by the accounts of two prytanies? Dinsmoor does not explain why the second slab, added about the end of the eighth prytany, was made as large as the first, although it must have been evident by that time that the record of the work done during two prytanies could not require as much space as all the work of the preceding eight prytanies together. Furthermore, the marble of fragment XI shows the same tendency to flake off along certain well-marked micaceous faults as is the case with fragments VIII–X, and fragment XXVI shows the same characteristic. In all the fragments these faults run approximately parallel to the face of the stele. It would be a most remarkable coincidence that two large slabs cut at different periods should be so perfectly similar in the grain of the marble.

The back of fragment XI appears to be blank, and it has always been assumed that it never was inscribed. Before the letters were discovered on the reverse of VIII² there was nothing to prevent the placing of all the fragments in a single stele as was actually done by Bannier.³ But after this discovery had been made various suggestions were offered for the number of slabs constituting the stele.⁴ There are, however, good reasons for believing that the reverse of XI was inscribed, although practically all traces of letters have disappeared. In the new excavations of the Athenian Agora, a drain was discovered which was partly covered with re-used blocks, some of which were inscribed marble stelae. Through the chemical action of the water and the gases from the sewage the surface of the marble in places has become corroded to such an extent that it is impossible to determine the letters although the lines are faintly visible.⁵ The marble has a slightly rough, granulated appearance. Another block, now in the Epigraphical Museum, shows the same peculiar corrosion of the surface. It is part of a triangular base inscribed on one side. The heading, which was written in large letters, is faintly legible, and in the lower part of the block some lines of the inscription are well preserved. But part of the surface appears perfectly blank, so much so that it is very difficult to determine where the inscription proper begins. The surface of the marble on the reverse of XI strongly resembles the surface of this base, and by careful measurements it can be shown that XI is 1–2 mm. thinner than VIII. Whether the two fragments belong to the same stele or not this small difference might easily have existed from the beginning, but the condition of the rear surface of XI makes it likely that the unequal thickness

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 251.

² O. Washburn, *A. J. A.* X, 1906, pp. 1 ff.

³ *Rh. Mus.* 1906, p. 226.

⁴ A. Frickenhaus (*A. J. A.* X, 1906, p. 15) and L. D. Caskey (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, p. 319) both concluded that there were four slabs to the stele.

⁵ These will be published by Professor B. D. Meritt in an early number of *Hesperia*.

is due to corrosion. By turning the reverse in the proper light it is possible to detect faint traces of a plain band between the last two columns of inscriptions.

The physical condition of the marble proves that the reverse of XI could have been inscribed even if the letters have all disappeared, and from the contents of the inscriptions and from other indications already mentioned it can be demonstrated that both sides of the stele were inscribed and that all the existing fragments belong to a single slab.

According to the arrangement proposed by Dinsmoor and followed by Caskey the last column of XI contains the accounts of the tenth prytany. Among the items mentioned here are some that have to do with the roofing of the building. Three hundred and eighty-eight cross-pieces (ἑκατόντεσς) were planed for use in the roof, and a few lines below the laying of rafters and cross-pieces is recorded. Between these two items the work of laying the tiles is referred to. Caskey assumed¹ that the roof mentioned here is not the roof over the whole temple but only that over the east cella. Since the preceding two columns contain the record of work on the ceiling followed by this account of the roof construction, the ceiling referred to in XI iii, ll. 26, 27 as ὀροφῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νεῷ has been understood to mean the ceiling over the east cella alone. But this use of *ναός* to refer to a particular part of the building is wholly unwarranted, as is shown by the Chandler inscription in which the whole building is three times referred to as ὁ *ναός*. Caskey in commenting on the work on the roof in XI iii says that 'the newly finished ceiling (over the east cella) required immediate protection from the weather.' But is it possible that the elaborately carved wooden ceiling, the making of which must have required a long time, was finished before the building was roofed? Since the laying of the roof according to Dinsmoor's arrangement took place in the tenth prytany the building remained entirely unroofed during the winter of 409/8, although work on the ceiling had begun in the early part of the year. Moreover, if Caskey is correct in assigning the woodwork recorded in IX to the roof over the east cella, the material paid for in the late summer of 409 would have had to remain unused until the following June. It might be supposed that a temporary roof was used during the winter, but such a roof would be costly and wholly unnecessary.² After the cornice and the gables were finished there was nothing to prevent the laying of the roof, and it is safe to assume that this was done as soon as possible, certainly before the work on the ceiling began. The work on the west part of the building seems to have lagged to a certain extent, and it is likely that the roof construction mentioned in XI iii is the last work on the roof, finished in the late fall before the heavy rains began.³ In modern architecture no one would

¹ *Erechtheum*, p. 369.

² A. Frickenhaus (*A. J. A.* X, 1906, p. 15, note 1) suggested that the roof referred to in XI iii was of a temporary nature, but this suggestion was rightly rejected by Caskey (*Erechtheum*, p. 369).

³ If we assume that the work on the roof began in the fall of 409, as soon as the geison and the gables were finished, and continued without interruption until completed in the fifth prytany, one serious difficulty in the interpretation of the inscriptions is removed. The distribution of the 388 *himantes* over half of the building gives rise to problems which have never been properly solved. See L. D. Caskey, *Erechtheum*,

think of beginning to work on the interior finishing before the building has been roofed, and it is no more likely that the Greek architects of the fifth century would do so.

The final placing of all the fragments in the stele as demanded by the contents and indicated by the nature of the marble may now be discussed (Fig. 59). With regard to

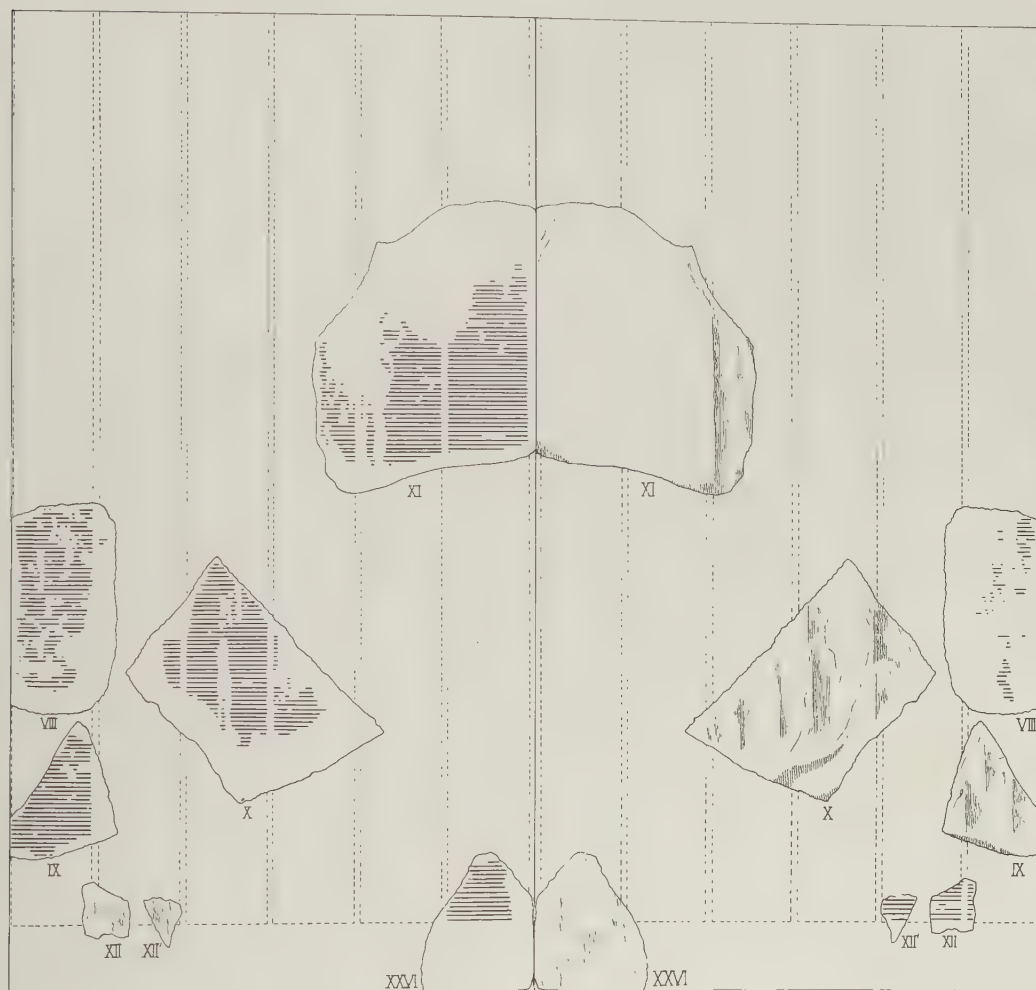


Fig. 59. Erechtheum Accounts for 409/8, New Arrangement

fragments VIII–X I follow Dinsmoor's arrangement. Fragment XI I would place somewhere in the upper half of the right side, so that column i of XI would come directly above column iii of X, both of which record work on a ceiling. Fragment XXVI will then be

p. 353, fig. 189, and p. 369; and cf. G. P. Stevens, *ibid.* pp. 76ff. But if the roof construction recorded in XI iii comprises only part of the work, *i.e.* only as much as was done in the fifth prytany, we have no way of telling how large a part of the whole roof this item covers.

placed in the lower right hand corner with the unfinished accounts at the bottom of the column carried over to the reverse of the stele. In this way it is possible to fit all the fragments into a single stele with six columns on each side. Fragments XII and XII' must be placed on the reverse, perhaps at the bottom of the fifth column. It is difficult to see how it could belong to the front of the stele. The ceiling on which work was done in the first half of the year 409/8 and recorded on the obverse is almost certainly that over the east cella, whereas the new fragment seems to deal with the ceiling over the westernmost room. But this ceiling cannot have been finished until the following year when the placing of the "bent beam" and the other ceiling beams is recorded.¹ The work of the turners mentioned in XII had to do with preparation for the making of the coffers which would not necessarily coincide in time with the actual work on the ceiling itself.²

The contents of VIII B, which now must come near the end of the year, cannot be restored, but the beginning seems to be concerned with some stone work, if Kleon, whose name appears in line 6, is the same man who was later engaged in the channeling of the columns in the east porch. In lines 7 and 8 the sum total of the preceding items was given, and below follow accounts of a different nature, probably purchases of some kind. The only word which is clearly preserved is *βιβλία* which does not occur elsewhere in the Erechtheum inscriptions. But in the records of 408/7 two items occur which have to do with the temporary keeping of accounts. In the seventh prytany two boards (*σανίδες*)³ were purchased for this purpose at a cost of two drachmae, and in the eighth prytany two sheets of paper (*χάρται*)⁴ costing two drachmae and four obols were bought for a similar use. The *βιβλία* mentioned in VIII B can hardly be anything else than the accounts,⁵ and since the plural is used it seems likely that the separate records of all the prytanies are here referred to together. This is just the kind of item one would expect to find in the records of the last prytany when some provision must have been made for the permanent recording of the accounts on marble.

The progress of the work on the building can now be followed in its logical sequence throughout the first half of the year 409/8. The preserved fragments constitute so small a part of the whole stele that an attempt to divide the contents into prytanies is largely guesswork, especially since not a single reference to the prytanies is preserved. We may assume that the accounts of approximately five prytanies were inscribed on each

¹ Professor Dörpfeld has kindly shown me the manuscript of an article, soon to be published in the *A.J.A.*, in which he presents a new explanation of the *καμπύλην σελίδα*. In this article he also rejects his former view that the west room in the executed plan of the building was without a wooden ceiling. That such a ceiling existed is now further shown by our new fragment.

² In the numerous references to the nailing of astragals to the frames no mention is made of the making of astragals. Apparently both these and the other parts were already made before the work on the coffers themselves began.

³ Fragment XVII i, ll. 30-32.

⁴ Fragment XVII ii, ll. 31, 32.

⁵ For the use of *βιβλιον* to mean the first copy of a decree later inscribed on stone see *I.G.* II² 1, l. 61 and for its use in the sense of receipt or bill cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch d. gr. Papyrusurkunden*, s. v.

side. In the first column the unfinished stone-work on the south wall and the laying of the frieze with its backers were recorded. Then follows a reference to the ceiling beams which were probably laid in place over the east cella as soon as the frieze was finished.¹ The work on the cornice was recorded in the second column followed by the work on the gables in the third column. The lost lower part of the third and the upper part of the fourth-column probably contained an account of the work on the roof over the east half of the building, for the lower half of column iv, at least part of column v, and the upper part of column vi record work on a coffered ceiling of wood, probably that over the east cella.² In the meantime the work on the western part of the building continued at a somewhat slower pace, but this part was probably roofed during the fifth prytany before the heavy winter rains began. The roof mentioned in XI iii can only be that over the western end of the building. The impossible theory that the ceiling was made before the roof was laid must be completely rejected. The payments to laborers working by the day, which are recorded in XXVI, may have been for carrying up tiles on the roof, for taking down the scaffoldings after the roof was finished and for similar jobs not specifically stated. The contents of the reverse we can only conjecture except for the work on the ceiling in the westernmost room which was probably begun toward the end of the year 409/8 and continued in the next year (408/7). The rest of the accounts for the last half of the year 409/8 may have been concerned with other work in the interior, paintings and encaustic, the making of the east and north doors, etc. Possibly work on the frieze had already begun before the year was over.

The arrangement of the fragments as given above is demanded by the contents, but confirmatory evidence for its correctness is furnished by the physical condition of the marble. A glance at figure 59 will show that the breaks follow in natural lines. When the stele was thrown down it seems to have received a blow at a point near the centre, at the topmost point of fragment X. The upper half was broken away along a line following the top of VIII and the bottom of XI. The lower half was again divided into three parts by two main fractures, extending obliquely to the right and left in nearly straight lines from the top of X, and continuing along the breaks at the top of IX and XXVI.³

The grain of the marble indicated by well-marked faults also indicates that this arrangement is correct. All the fragments tend to split along certain lines roughly parallel to the surface of the stele. It is probably more than a coincidence that the three fragments with the back completely missing all come in the lower part of the

¹ This would be the normal procedure which probably was followed wherever possible. An exception seems to have been made in the case of the westernmost room, probably because of the irregularities in the southwest corner which seem to have caused considerable difficulty and delay. For a discussion of the various theories regarding this moot question see L. D. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, pp. 348, 349, 408 ff.

² It is likely that this work on the ceiling was divided between two prytanies, and in that case part of column v was occupied with other matters.

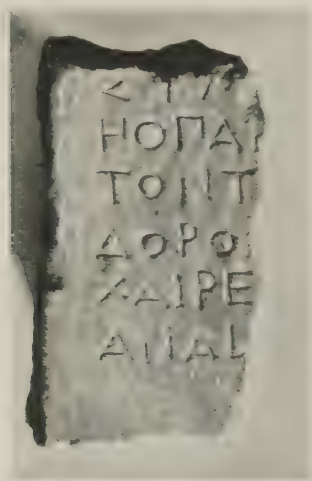
³ For another stele which was shattered in a somewhat similar way see B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Calendar*, pl. I.

stele below the two oblique fractures at the top of IX, X, and XXVI. This shows that the natural faults of the stone were more clearly marked in the lower part, but similar faults are easily traceable in VIII and XI. They are less prominent in XI which apparently belongs to the upper half of the stele.

10. Fig. 60. E. M. 12733. Small fragment of white marble found September 22, 1932, in the late fill north of the cave.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009 m. *Non Stoichedon.*



αμ - - - - -
 βασις - - - - -
 ιων - - - - -
 Ιωαν[?] - - - - -
 Νεπς - - - - -
 ἀν[?] - - - - -

Fig. 60. Inscription No. 10

The fragment belongs to the bottom of the column, as is shown by the blank space, *ca.* 0.02 m. high, below the last line. Since the left edge of the fragment is a break, there must have been at least one more column on the stele.

There is a close similarity between this fragment and some small pieces of the Erechtheum accounts which have been dated in the year 408/7.¹ The spacing both of lines and letters varies somewhat among the fragments, and in fragment XXV, placed by Dinsmoor at the end of the accounts for the year, the spacing is much wider than in any of the others. The new fragment resembles XXI most closely. The shapes of the letters are approximately the same in all the pieces, although the size varies to some extent.² The similarity is so striking that on general appearance alone it is tempting to assign the new fragment to the same stele. An additional reason for dating it in the year 408/7 is the occurrence of the name Dorotheos in line 4. Only one Dorotheos is

¹ *I.G.* I² 374 Q W; L. D. Caskey, *Erechtheum*, pp. 376-379, XIX XXV; W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, pp. 255 ff. and XXXVI, 1932, pp. 145 ff.

² Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, p. 263.

known from the end of the fifth century, and the other inscription¹ in which his name occurs is dated in that year. He was secretary either of the council during one of its prytanies² or of the board of treasurers.³ On the assumption that the new fragment is part of the Erechtheum accounts we may conjecturally restore it as follows:

Σὺν πατὶς ἑξήμας ἀρχαῖος
 ἡ παρ[έλαβον] οἱ ἐπιστάται παρὰ
 τῶν τ[αμίον] τῆς θεῶ numeral ἐπὶ
 ἀποσ[φύ]ξο φιλίης ῥαμματεῖτος
 5 Χαιρε - - - - -
 ἀνάλ[ομα] τὸ παντό.

It is difficult, however, to suggest any restoration for line 5. Possibly the name beginning with Χαιρε- was that of the chairman of the building commission.⁴ If some such restoration is possible the fragment would have to come at the very end of the accounts for the year, the numeral in line 3 giving the total receipts of the commissioners for the whole year. But here another difficulty arises from the fact that fragment XXV has been assigned by Dinsmoor to the end of the accounts for the tenth prytany.⁵ The wide spacing of lines and letters in fragment XXV would seem more natural at the end of the whole account for the year. On the other hand, the formula as restored by Dinsmoor is exactly the same as that used at the close of some of the other prytanies,⁶ and it is obvious that the comparatively small sum recorded in XXV represents the expenditures during one prytany only. Is it not possible that the wide spacing was caused by a desire on the part of the stone cutter to make the prytany account extend to the bottom of the column so that the accounts of the new prytany could begin at the top of the next column? In that case fragment XXV might belong to the accounts of another prytany and the new fragment, containing the final sums for the year, could come at the very end of the stele.

11. Fig. 61. E. M. 12715. Fragment of white marble found March 2, 1932, north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, close to virgin soil (cf. p. 355).

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.008 m. *Stoichedon*.

¹ *I.G.* I² 313.

² W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 27, note 1; 52; I. 185.

³ B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 29.

⁴ In the preceding year this commission consisted of three members (*I.G.* I² 372. ll. 1, 2).

⁵ W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, p. 263; XXV, 1921, pp. 245 ff.; XXXVI, 1932, pp. 145 ff. Fragment XXV and four others were rejected from the accounts for this year by de La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.* XLVIII, 1924, p. 324. They were republished by Caskey as belonging to the accounts for 408/7 (*op. cit.* pp. 373 ff.) but their place in the stele was not determined.

⁶ See L. D. Caskey, *op. cit.* p. 388. XVII, i, l. 24; 394. XVII, ii, ll. 22, 23.

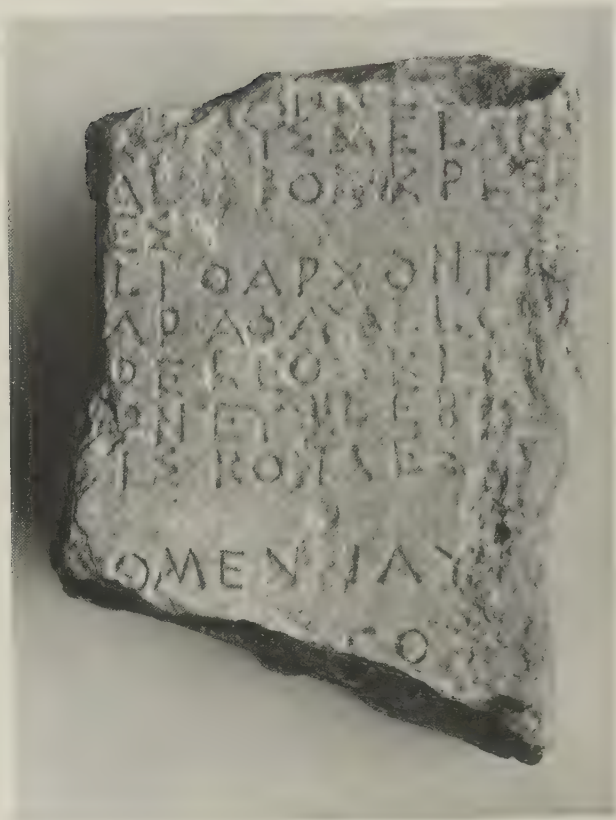


Fig. 61. Inscription No. 11

----- ρηπες -----
----- υς μελαν -----
----- χ]αλ[κ]ιον κρεε -----
----- ες vacat -----
5 [Ἐπὶ Καλ]λίο ἔρχοντ[ος -----
----- π]αρά Φαύλλο -----
----- ρειεος κιβ[οιδο]ς(?) -----
----- Ἀχα]ρνενς λεβ[ε -----
----- hoρμ]ίσκον δεσ -----
10 vacat -----
----- παρ[έδ]ομεν Ναν -----
----- τος -----

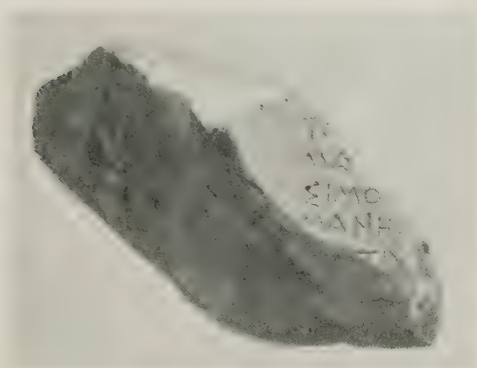
The back is broken away along a natural fault of the marble. No original edge is preserved. Although the arrangement is *stoichedon*, the letters of the last two lines are larger and more widely spaced than those above. Line 11 seems to begin a new heading.

The forms of the letters point to a date near the end of the fifth century B.C. The archon whose name is mentioned in line 5 can only be Kallias. It must remain uncertain, however, whether this is the Kallias of 412/11 or that of 406/5. So far as it is possible to judge from the items mentioned, the inscription seems to belong to an inventory of some kind.

12. Fig. 62. E. M. 12743. Small fragment of white marble found October 1, 1932, in the lower area.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.



Σ - - - - -
 Το - - - - -
 Μά[ρις - - - -
 Σίμο[ς - - - -
 Μάρις - - - -
 . . . τιν - - - -

Fig. 62. Inscription No. 12.

To the left of the column was a blank space, at least 0.022 m. wide, showing that the preserved letters do not belong to the first column of the stele. Professor Meritt has identified this fragment as belonging to the naval catalogue, some fragments of which he published in 1927.¹ What is preserved on the new fragment is apparently a list of slaves who served as *θεράποντες* in the ships. Parts of three names are preserved, and it is likely that line 2 contained another name rather than the heading *ροξόραι*. The bowmen, of whom there were only two or three in each ship, were in other instances Athenian citizens,² whereas two of the names on our fragment are certainly slave names.

13. Fig. 63. E. M. 12744. Fragment of white marble found October 19, 1932, in the lower area.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m., but the letters in the lowest line appear to be smaller.

¹ *A. J. A.* XXXI, 1927, pp. 462 ff.; *I. G.* II² 959, 1951; cf. J. Sundwall, *Arch. Anz.* XXX, 1915, pp. 124 ff.

² *I. G.* II² 1951, ll. 44, 45, 107–109.

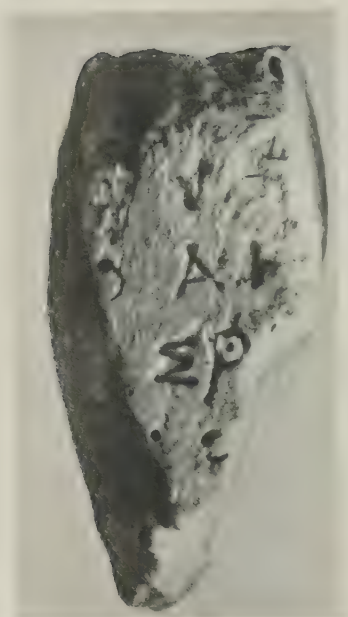


Fig. 63. Inscription No. 13

- - - - - or
 - - - - - ηαι
 - - - - - σθ
 - - - - - αο

Part of the right edge is preserved, but the back is broken away. The surface is badly weathered. The first three lines are probably part of a heading.

14. Fig. 64. E. M. 12741. Small fragment of white marble found October 14, 1932, north of the east entrance to the cave.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.061 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m. *Stoichedon* (?).

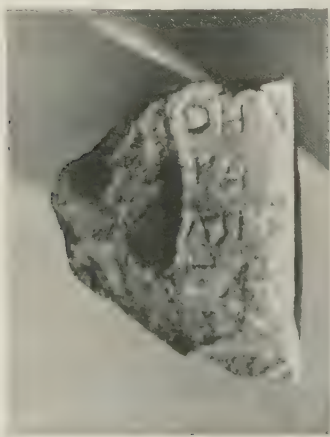


Fig. 64. Inscription No. 14

- - - - - OH
 - - - - - YA
 - - - - - ΛΠ
 - - - - - ΕΑ

The last letter of line 3 is probably an *eta* with the horizontal stroke omitted.

15. Fig. 65. E. M. 12719. Fragment of inscription of bluish marble found March 9, 1932, slightly north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.072 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m. *Stoichedon* 30.

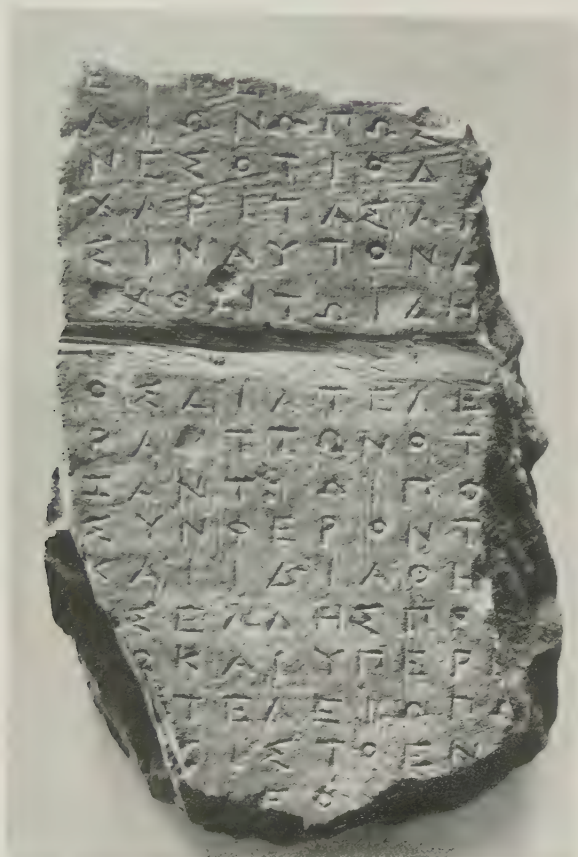


Fig. 65. Inscription No. 15

εἶπεν. [τύχη ἀγαθῇ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθην-]
 αίων. (δ)πως [ἐν εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες οἱ Ἕλλη-]
 νες διὰ δὴ [μος δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπίσταται]
 χάριτας ἀπ[οδιδόναι τοῖς ἐνεργετοῦ-]
 5 σιν αὐτὸν ἀ[ξίας τῶν ἐνεργεσιῶν δεδό-]
 χθαι τῷ δή[μῳ· ἐπειδὴ - - - - -]
 . . . ΛΟ . . . Υ
 ος διατελε[ῖ εἰς οὓς ὧν καὶ λέγων καὶ π-]
 ράττων ὅτι [ἐν δύνηται περὶ τῶν ἐν Βυ-]
 10 ζαντίῳ πο[λιορχουμένων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα]

συνφέρουτ[α πράττει καὶ τοῖς κοινῇ]
 καὶ ἰδί(αι) Ἀθη[ναίων ἐσταλμένοις εἰς το-]
 ῖς Ἑλλησπο[ρείους - - - - -]
 . ρ καὶ ὑπὲρ η - - - - -
 15 . . τελεῖ (δ')πω[ς - - - - -]
 . . εἰς τὸ ἐντ - - - - -
 εὐν - - - - -

The left edge of the stele is preserved. The first letter in line 6 was erased and the letters **AI** were crowded into the fourth space. Line 7 has been erased by rubbing or scraping, not by means of the chisel. A few faint traces of letters remain, but it is likely that the line was erased at the time when the stele was inscribed. The name of the man honored in the decree, which probably began near the middle of line 6 and ended in line 8, can hardly have occupied one and a half lines. In line 9 there is an erasure in the third space, but no letter is omitted in the text. In line 12 two letters seem to have been omitted by the stone cutter. The word *επως* both in line 2 and in line 15 is spelled with an initial *omega* instead of *omikron*. The event referred to in line 10, if the restoration is correct, is probably the siege of Byzantium by Philip in the year 340/339.¹

16. Fig. 66. E. M. 12707. Fragment of white marble found April 12, 1932, near the Acropolis wall, northwest of the Mycenaean stairway.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m. *Stoichedon* 28.

[. κατὰ τ]ὸν ν[όμον διδόσθαι· καὶ]
 [αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ]γόν[ους εὐεργέτας καὶ]
 [προξένους τ]οῦ δ[ήμου εἶναι· καὶ ἔγκ-]
 [τησιν γῇ]ς καὶ οἰ[κίας αὐτοῖς εἶναι·]
 5 [καὶ τὰ]ς στρατεῖ[ας στρατεύεσθαι α-]
 [ὐτοῖς] καὶ τὰς ε[ἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρειν]
 [μετὰ Ἀ]θηναίων, [επως ἂν εἰδῶσιν πάν-]
 [τες ὅτι] ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Ἀθηναίων τιμᾷ τοῦ-]
 [ς εὐεργέ]ας ἔλ[αντας· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι]
 10 [ι δὲ αὐτῶν] τῇμ[α] [βουλὴν τῇμ[α] βουλευέου-]
 [σαν καὶ του]ς - - - - -

¹ Other inscriptions relating to the same event are *I. G.* II² 233—235. Cf. *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI, pp. 251 ff.

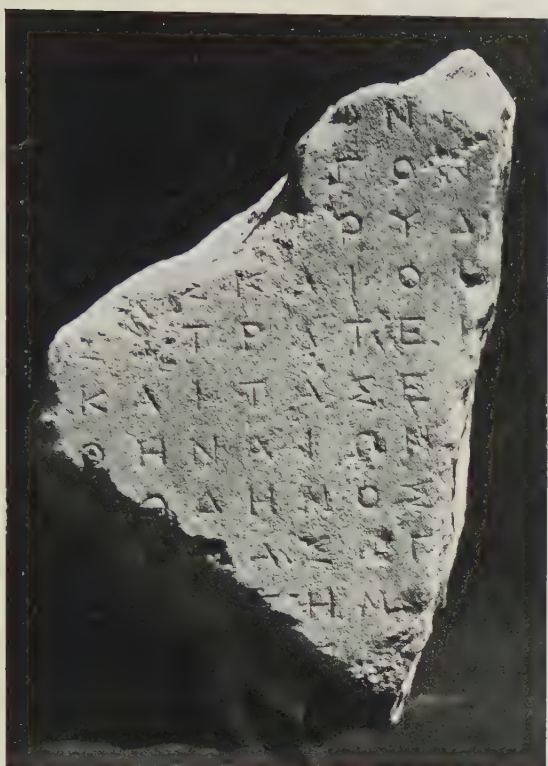


Fig. 66. Inscription No. 16

The formula used and the forms of the letters point to a date in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

17. Fig. 67. E. M. 12736. Small fragment of white marble found October 7, 1932, in the middle area.



Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

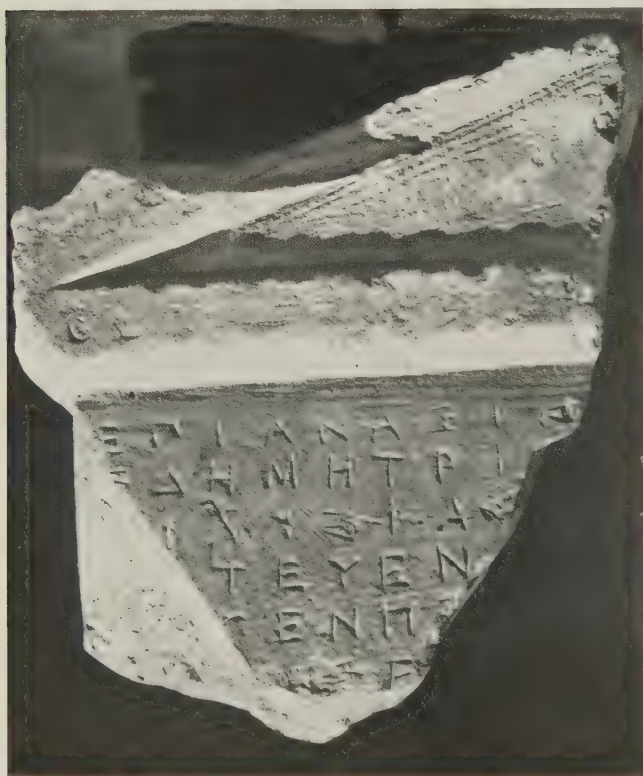
Height of letters, 0.006 m. *Stoichedon* 52(?).

. ἐμμ[ενόντων ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ· καὶ
ἐάν τις ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς]
Λόχοις ἢ τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι τοῖς Λόχοις ἐπὶ
πολέμῳ βοηθεῖν τοῖς]
Ἀθη[ναίους καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι παντὶ σθενέϊ
κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὅρκ-]
οὐ[ντων δε - - - - -]
ε - - - - -

Fig. 67. Inscription No. 17

Part of the left edge of the stone is preserved. It seems to refer to a treaty between the Lokrians and the Athenians, possibly from the time shortly after the death of Alexander, when the cities of Greece rose in revolt against Macedon. A fragmentary inscription dated in the year 323/2 B.C. apparently refers to a treaty between Athens and Phokis,¹ and Pausanias² and Diodorus³ both mention the Lokrians among those who joined the alliance for the liberation of Greece. The forms of the letters agree with such a date. The restoration proposed above is conjectural, but the verb *ἐμμένω*, commonly used in formulas of alliance, and the reference to the Lokrians and the Athenians in the next two lines show that the inscription had to do with a treaty.

18. Fig. 68. E. M. 12706. Small fragment of inscription on white marble found April 21, 1931, in a trial pit northeast of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.



Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.13 m.;
thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.
Stoichedon 28.

Θ[Ε Ο Ι]
Ἐπὶ Ἀναξίτ[ρ]αίους ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τῇ]
ς Δημητρί[α]δος τρίτης προταρείας]
[ῆ]ι Ανσία[ς] Νοθίππου Διομεδ[ε]ς ἐγράμ-]
[μ]ατένεν [Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ ιε-]
[αι] πέντ[ι]τη καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς προτα]
[ρείας]ς ἐκκλησία - - - - -

Fig. 68. Inscription No. 18

¹ *I. G.* II² 367.

² I, xxv, 4.

³ XVIII, ix, 5. xi.

The names of the archon and of the secretary show that the decree belongs to the year 307/6. The restoration of the calendar for this year is beset with difficulties, partly because two new tribes, Demetrias and Antigonis, were added during the year, and partly because of other unprecedented irregularities. Since this small fragment can be restored with fair certainty, it constitutes an important link in our chain of data from which to restore the calendar of this year. It is the first preserved inscription in which the tribe Demetrias appears as the prytanizing tribe, and since the number of the prytany can be restored we know that this new tribe held the third prytany of the year.

The number of letters to be restored in each line is determined by line 1. But line 3 would have 29 letters if the demotic of the secretary were spelled in the more usual way *Διομεεύς*, and 30 letters if it were spelled *Διομειεύς*, both of which forms are common. The form *Διομεύς* does not occur in any of the preserved inscriptions, but analogous forms are not uncommon.¹ The number of the prytany in line 2 was written with six letters. Three other possibilities exist, *πρώτης*, *δγδός*, and *ἐνάτης*, but these are excluded because no combination of the date of the month in lines 4 and 5 will fit any of these numbers.

Since the new inscription cannot be fitted into any of the proposed restorations of the calendar for the year 307/6, it will be necessary to discuss the whole problem at some length. A large number of documents of this year are preserved, but only five equations can be established, and of these all but two permit of other possibilities. All the documents are discussed by Dinsmoor in his recent book on the Archons of Athens.² His conclusion as to the calendar of this year differs greatly from that proposed by Kirchner in *I.G.* II², pp. 189, 191. He adduces evidence to prove that the year contained two intercalated months, Gamelion II and Anthesterion II, but in order to limit the year to thirteen months, he assumes that Mounychion was omitted. According to his arrangement the first half of the year was an ordinary year of ten prytanies, and the second half of the year contained all the irregularities. He divides the year into twelve prytanies as follows: I-35, II-36, III-36, IV-35, V-36, VI-36, VII-28, VIII-28, IX-26, X-29, XI-30, XII-29. The confusion of the calendar in the second half of the year he explains on the basis of some arbitrary changes introduced by Demetrius at the time of his visit in Athens, when he insisted on being initiated into all the mysteries at once without waiting for the established dates of the festivals.³ But in order to fit this scheme to the existing inscriptions Dinsmoor has to assume that one of the documents contains a scribal error. Since we now find that the new

¹ Thus the forms *Ἐρικεύς* (*I.G.* II² 1009, l. 22) and *Ἐρικεύς* (*ibid.* l. 94) appear instead of *Ἐρικειεύς*; *Ἀμαξαντεύς* (*I.G.* II² 1009, ll. 97, 102, 109; 1006, ll. 113-116) for *Ἀμαξαντειεύς* (cf. *I.G.* II² 1388, l. 6, and 1392, l. 6), etc.

² Pp. 377-385.

³ Cf. Plutarch, *Demetr.*, 12, 26.

inscription does not fit Dinsmoor's scheme it will be necessary to attempt a new arrangement.

The chief evidence for the intercalation of the month Anthesterion is furnished by *I.G.* II² 459. This is a small fragment of a very large stele which must have had at least fifty letters to the line and may have had many more. According to Dinsmoor's restoration the secretary's name was omitted and the name of the month, Anthesterion, followed the mention of the prytany. This is also the restoration proposed in the *corpus*, but a careful examination of the stone shows that the restoration cannot be correct. The preposition at the beginning was written 'Επ' as in *I.G.* II² 458. If it were written out in full the line would have to begin 0.005 m. from the left edge. In a stele of that size with the letters spaced 0.016 m. apart it is most improbable that the margin was that narrow. But a more serious change of reading must be made in line 3. The last preserved letter of that line cannot be an *epsilon*. Only an upright stroke remains, but the stone is preserved where the top stroke of the *epsilon* would come. Since the vertical stroke comes directly under the vertical stroke of the *rho* in line 1, it is probably not an *iota* but must be part of an *eta*. This being the case, the word Anthesterion must be rejected, and the word ending in *nu* in line 4 need not necessarily be restored [ἡμερολογδο]ν as proposed in the *corpus*. Moreover, there are some parts of letters preserved below line 4 which have not hitherto been observed. The letter directly below the *omikron* was either an *eta* or a *nu*, the next letter had a horizontal stroke at the top, and the letter under the *delta* was probably an *iota*, but possibly a *phi*. These letters must belong to the name of the proedros. But it is difficult to fit the reading into any known formula, and it is evident that the restoration of this inscription is too problematical to serve as a basis for an arrangement of the prytanies of the year. In fact it is by no means certain that the inscription belongs to the year 307/6.¹

Whatever is the explanation for the lengthening of the prytanies toward the end of the year, it can hardly be the addition of a second intercalary month, which would probably be too radical a departure to be tolerated. The last six prytanies must have been arranged approximately as was proposed by Kirchner, but his arrangement for the first part of the year has to be modified to fit the new decree.

The following equations may now be made as the basis for a tentative restoration of the calendar:

¹ It is difficult to suggest any reading that will fit the preserved letters of line 2. I can only suggest as a possibility that the stone cutter began to write Anthesterion, which would normally have followed Gamelion, but noticed his mistake after he had written the first three letters Ανθ. He may have intended to change these letters later into Γαμ, but forgot to do so. If we admit this possibility, the inscription may be restored as follows:

['Επ'] Ἀναξικ[ράτους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος δγδίδης πρυτα-]
[νελ]ας [['Ανθ'] (Γαμ)η[λιῶνος ἱστέραι ἐμβολίμωι πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερολ-]
[εγδδ]ν δγδ[όνη τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισ-]
[εν 'Ηγ]ησι[ας (?) κτλ.

1. Our No. 18	Boedromion 29 ¹	=	Prytany III, 25.
2. <i>I.G.</i> II ² 455	Pyanopsion 8	=	Prytany IV, 3.
3. <i>I.G.</i> II ² 456	Maimakterion 26	=	Prytany V, 21. ²
4. <i>I.G.</i> II ² 458	Gamelion II 28	=	Prytany VIII, 21.
5. <i>I.G.</i> II ² 460-462 <i>S.E.G.</i> III, 86	Elaphebolion 9	=	Prytany X, 9.

The other inscriptions of the same year admit of various restorations and can, therefore, not be used in support of any arrangement of the prytanies.³ Only *I.G.* II² 455 appears to give some trouble, because both Kirchner and Dinsmoor restore it with 43 letters to the line, whereas it can equally well be restored with 42 letters. The only line which cannot have less than 43 letters is line 7, where the name of Stratokles of Diomeia has been restored. But, although he proposed most of the decrees at this period, there is no cogent reason for restoring his name here. His name is written with 27 letters. If we restore the inscription with 42 letters to the line, either he was not the mover,⁴ or two letters were crowded into one space, or his demotic was written *Διομεύς* as in our inscription, No. 18. The last solution is the least likely in view of the fact that we have to restore the form *Διομευεύς* in line 3. I propose the following restoration of the first four lines:

[Ἐπ' Ἀναξικράτους ἔρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδίου]ν- υυυυυυ
 [ίδος τετάρτης πρυτανείας ἤμιν Ἀνσίας Νοθί]ππου Διομ-
 [εινὸς ἐγραμμάτευν, Πυανωψιώνος ὀγδοίη]ς ἵσταμέν-
 [ον τρίτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν περ]ιέδρων ἐπ-

The following table gives one possible restoration of the calendar for the year 307/6, but in view of the great irregularities which cannot be avoided, this is intended only as a tentative arrangement. Until some more definitely dated documents come to light no final solution of the problem can be offered.

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Prytany</i>	<i>Days</i>	<i>Months</i>
	I	32 (1-32)	Hekatombaion 1 - Metageitnion 2
	II	32 (33-64)	Metageitnion 3 - Boedromion 4

¹ I assume that the year began with two "full" months followed by five "hollow" and five "full" months in alternate succession.

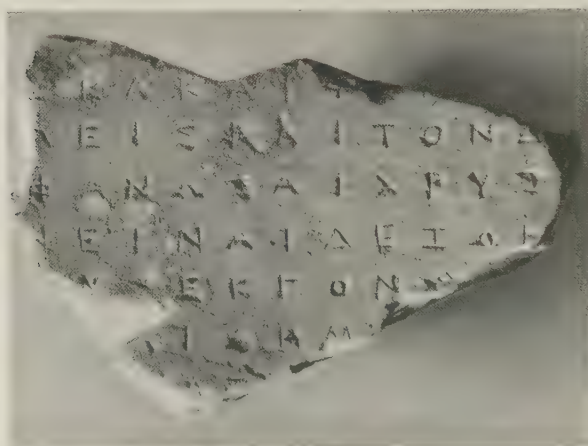
² This restoration presupposes one extra letter in the line as proposed by Kirchner. Cf. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* p. 384.

³ *I.G.* II² 464 does not give the day of the month, but the restoration proposed by Dinsmoor fills all the requirements according to my arrangement.

⁴ In the following year a motion was made by Diotimos of Euonymia, whose full name, which requires 26 letters, would fit the space in *I.G.* II² 455 according to my restoration.

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Prytany</i>	<i>Days</i>	<i>Months</i>
Demetrias	III	30 (65-94)	Boedromion 5 - Pyanopsion 5
Pandionis	IV	30 (95-124)	Pyanopsion 6 - Maimakterion 5
Aigeis or Oineis	V	30 (125-154)	Maimakterion 6 - Posideon 6
	VI	30 (155-184)	Posideon 7 - Gamelion 6
	VII	30 (185-214)	Gamelion 7 - Gamelion II 7
Antigonis	VIII	26 (215-240)	Gamelion II 8 - Anthesterion 3
	IX	26 (241-266)	Anthesterion 4 - Anthesterion 29
Hippothontis	X	39 (267-305)	Elaphebolion 1 - Mounychion 9
	XI	39 (306-344)	Mounychion 9 - Thargelion 19
	XII	40 (355-384)	Thargelion 20 - Skirophorion 29

19. Fig. 69. E. M. 12718. Fragment of bluish marble found March 17, 1932, in the lower area north of the cave.



Height, 0.095 m.; width,
0.145 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m.
Stoichedon 32.

Fig. 69. Inscription No. 19

----- ἀφ-]

[ἐτῆς ἐνε]κα καὶ φ[ιλοτιμίας τῆς πρὸς το- ν]
 [ὄς βασι]λεῖς καὶ τὸν δ[ῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων]
 [καὶ στε]φανῶσαι χρυσ[ῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τ-]
 5 [ὸν νόμο]ν· εἶναι δὲ ζωή[ν Ἀθίγαιον καὶ αὐτ-]
 [ὸν καὶ το]ὺς ἐκγό[ους αὐτοῦ καὶ γράψασθ]
 [αι φυλῆς κ]αὶ δῆμ[ον καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἐν βο-]
 [ύλῃται καὶ] ἃ τ[ὸν νόμον - - - - -]

The forms of the letters indicate that the inscription must be dated toward the end of the fourth century, and the kings mentioned in line 2 must refer to Antigonus and Demetrius. The formula, so far as it can be restored, is almost identical with that used in the decree in honor of Oxythemis of Larisa,¹ one of Demetrius' friends, and it is highly probable that our fragment is part of a decree in honor of some other lieutenant of the same king. The word $\xi\omega\acute{\eta}\nu$ in line 4 meaning "for life" is unusual, but it is difficult to suggest any other restoration² unless $Z\omega\eta$ - - is the beginning of some hitherto unknown name.

20. Fig. 70. E. M. 12717. Two fragments of bluish marble found March 8 and 9, 1932, slightly north of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m. *Stoichedon*.



Fig. 70. Inscription No. 20

----- ΑΙΤ -----
 ----- $\xi\omega\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi$ - [*vacat*]
 [$\omega\nu$ ----- $\tau\omicron\nu$] ς $\Lambda\nu\delta\omicron\iota$ -*vacat*

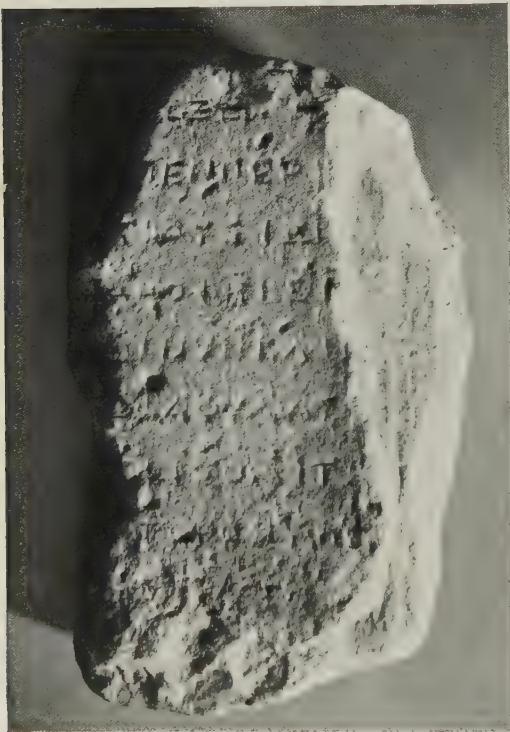
¹ *I. G.* II² 558. Cf. Diod., XXI, xv, xvi, 5; Athenaeus, vi, 253 a, xiii, 578 b.

² Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.* III, 1210.

[ους - - - - - κ]αὶ οἱ σιγ-vacat
 5 [ατηγοὶ - - - - vacat ἔδοξεν - - - - -
 - - - - - τοῖς δοκῶσαντας - - - - -
 - - - - - τοῖς δὲ πρυτάνευσιν - - - - -
 - - - - - ἡ παρ' ἐκατέρων το - - - -
 - - - - - ἀποφῆναι τῇ βουλ[ῇ - - - -
 10 - - - - - τῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς ἀ - - - -
 - - - - - Ἀμεινιάδης Φαντιάδου - - - -
 - - - - - ἦτο Ἄνδριοι προσφα - - - -
 - - - - - ΕΝΑΙΑΓΟΚΤΙ - - - - -

The letters are clearly cut. The arrangement is *stoichedon*, but the vertical lines curve considerably. Lines 1–4 were apparently arranged in a narrower column than the lower lines. The decree seems to deal with an otherwise unknown treaty between the Athenians and the Andrians, but the formula used is so uncommon that it is difficult to restore any part of the inscription. The date is probably about the end of the fourth century B.C.

21. Fig. 71. E. M. 12742. Fragment of white marble found October 15, 1932, in the lower area.



Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m. *Stoichedon*.

[. ἔδ]οξεν τ - - - - -
 [εἰ]πεν περὶ [ῶν - - - - -
 [τῶ]ν θυσίων - - - - -
 . Α . ΟΙ εἰς ἰ - - - - -
 [κ]αὶ νὺν καὶ ἐ[ν τῷ] ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ - - - -
 . διαφύλατ - - - - -
 [ψη]φίσθαι τῷ[ι δέ]μῳ - - - -
 . . τῷ . οἱ ψῆ - - - - -
 το - - - - -

Part of the left edge is preserved. The surface is so badly worn that only a few letters can be read with certainty.

Fig. 71. Inscription No. 21

22. Fig. 72. E. M. 12709. Small fragment of inscription on bluish marble found May 5, 1931, near the east entrance to the cave.



Fig. 72. Inscription No. 22

Height, 0.08 m.; width,
0.088 m.; thickness, 0.038 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Stoichedon.

vacat

----- ΥΣΟΝΗΡ
ΣΟΣΙΡΡ
!Σ!...

Part of the right edge
is preserved but the back is
broken away. Above the
first line the surface was
uninscribed to the top of
the break, *ca.* 0.03 m.

23. Fig. 73. E. M. 12722. Fragment of white marble found March 16, 1932, north of the east entrance to the cave.



Fig. 73. Inscription No. 23

Height, 0.10 m.; width,
0.10 m.; thickness, 0.031 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

[Φ]ρασιζ[λῆς or [Φ]ρασιζ[λείδης

The preserved letters,
written on the fascia below
the pediment, belong to the
superscription which prob-
ably consisted of the name
of the man honored in the
decree.

24. Fig. 74. E. M. 12727. Fragment of bluish marble found near the Acropolis wall at a depth of *ca.* 2 m.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m. Not *stoichedon* 43–45.

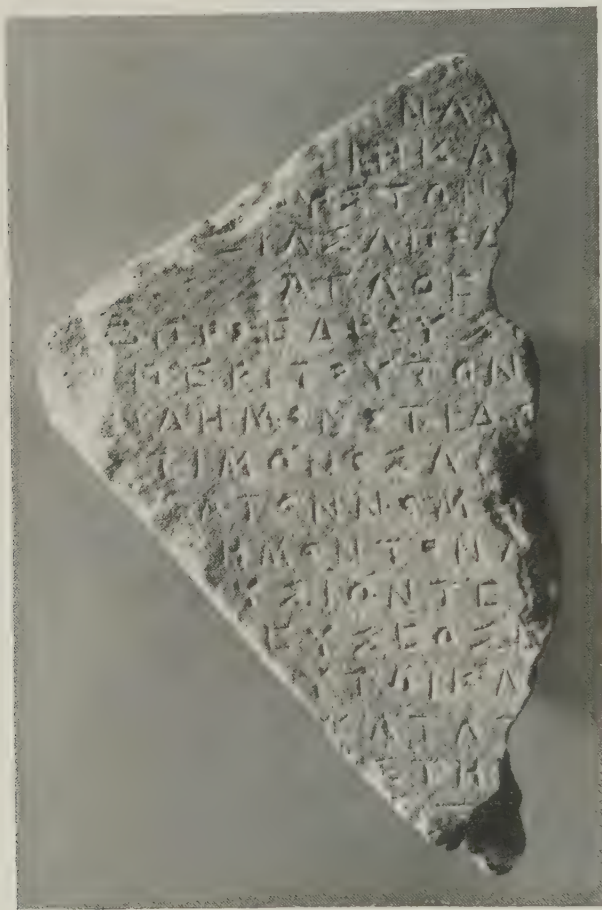


Fig. 74. Inscription No. 24

- - - - - ἵνα - - - - -
 - - - - - σινκα - - - - -
 - - - - - ους τῶν [- - ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
 [φαίνεται χάριτας ἀ]ξίας ἀποδ[ίδους τοῖς εἰς ἐαντὸν]
 5 [φιλοτιμομένοι]ς. νυν ἀγαθῇ[ι τύχη. δεδόχθαι τῇ βου-]
 [λῇ τοῖς λάχοντι]ς προσέδρους [εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλη-]
 [σίῳ χρηματίσαι] περὶ τούτων, [γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι]

- [τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν] δῆμον ὅτι δ[οκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσ-]
 [αὶ μὲν *nomēn*] Τίμωνος Αἰ[- - - καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν]
 10 [χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κα]τὰ τὸν νόμ[ον εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς]
 [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Ἀ[θηναίων, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν]
 [στεφάνον τοῦτον Διον]υσίων τε [τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τραγ-]
 (ωιδόις καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων τοῖς γυμνικ-)
 [οῖς ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δ' ἀναγορ]εύσεως ἐ[πιμεληθῆναι τοὺς στρα-]
 15 [τηγοὺς· δεδόσθαι δὲ α]ὐτῶι κα[ὶ πολιτείαν δοκιμασθέν-]
 [τι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ] κατὰ [τὸν νόμον. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέ-]
 [τας δταν πληρῶσιν δικα]στή[ριον εἰς ἕνα καὶ πενταχοσ-]
 [ίους δικαστὰς εἰσαγα]γ[εῖν αὐτῶν τὴν δοκιμασίαν κτλ.]

The stone is broken on all sides and at the back. The letters, which strongly resemble those in *I.G.* II², Nos. 987 and 988, are carelessly cut. All the *alphas* lack the horizontal stroke and the *epsilons* lack the middle stroke. After line 12 a whole line of 43 letters seems to have been omitted by the stone cutter. The copulative *τε* which is preserved on the stone shows that the games at the Panathenaic and Eleusinian festivals were also included in the formula.

25. Fig. 75. E. M. 12732. Small fragment of white marble found September 21, 1932, in the late fill in the eastern part of the excavated area.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.023 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m. and 0.02 m.

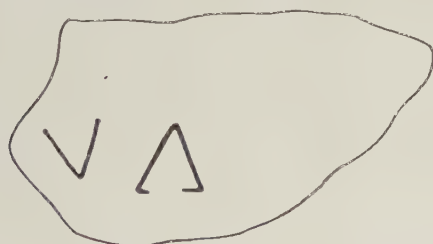


Fig. 75. Inscription No. 25

The inscribed surface is very rough.

26. Fig. 76. E. M. 12740. Small fragment of white marble found October 14, 1932, in late fill slightly north of the east entrance to the cave.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

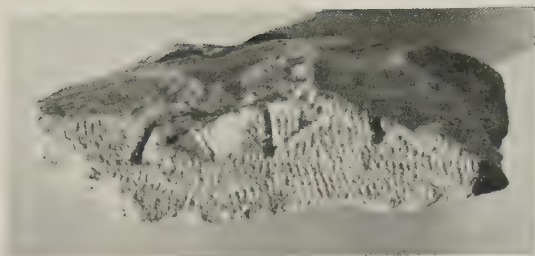


Fig. 76. Inscription No. 26

----- ΣΑΛΛ -----

The Attic *lambdas* show that the inscription belongs to the fifth century B.C.

27. Fig. 77. E. M. 12723. Small fragment of white marble found March 12, 1932, slightly north of the east entrance to the cave.

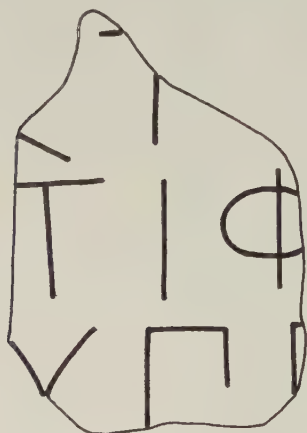


Fig. 77. Inscription No. 27

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.033 m.

----- στ -----
 ----- τιφ -----
 ----- νπε -----

The letters are carefully cut. The size of the letters indicates that the fragment belongs to some dedicatory inscription. The date is probably the fifth century B.C., but a more accurate dating is impossible.

28. Fig. 78. E. M. 12713. Small fragment of inscription on white marble found April 24, 1931, in the lower area, not far from the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.028 m.

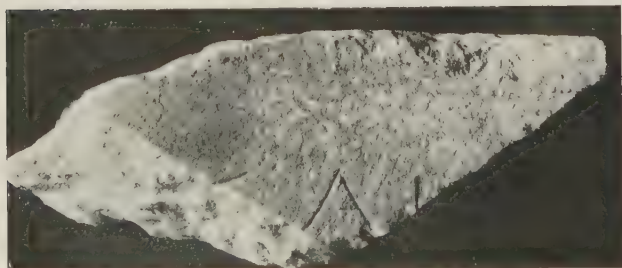


Fig. 78. Inscription No. 28

----- σαι -----

The stone is broken on all sides except at the top. The letters are carefully cut without apices.

29. Fig. 79. E. M. 12711. Small fragment of inscription on blue limestone found April 23, 1931, slightly north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.



Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

. ωμ - - - -

αφρ - - - -

Fig. 79. Inscription No. 29

A small part of the left edge is preserved. The inscribed surface is comparatively rough. This fact, as well as the material on which the inscription is cut, seems to indicate that the fragment is part of a boundary stone. If this is correct the last line might be restored ἀφ' ἡ[ρώων.

30. Fig. 80. E. M. 12734. Fragment of white marble found September 24, 1932, in the late fill of the lower area.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.



- - - - - αρα - - - - -

Fig. 80. Inscription No. 30

31. Fig. 81. E. M. 12726. Fragment of a base of blue marble found September 7, 1932, in the surface soil of the upper area.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.



----- ειας -----

Fig. 81. Inscription No. 31

The letters are cut in the concave part of a *cyma recta* moulding.

32. Fig. 82. E. M. 12739. Fragment of a herm of white marble found in the ruined church of Hagios Nikolaos on the north slope of the Acropolis.

Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, 0.010–0.015 m.



	Ἀγαθῇ[ι τύχηι]
	[Ἐπὶ] ἄρχοντος -----
	----- Ἀ]χαρνέως -----
----- υσπ -----	----- πρστ] αἰεις -----
----- δ -----	----- Φ]υλῆς -----
Front	Right side

At least the front and the right side of the herm were inscribed. What is preserved on the right side is part of the initial formula of a catalogue of prytanies.

Fig. 82. Inscription No. 32

33. Fig. 83. E. M. 12738. Fragment of white marble, probably part of a herm, found in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.



Fig. 83. Inscription No. 33

Γ
 ΟΔΕ·Ι

- - - Δ - - - ΛΥΝ - - - Υ
 [Α]ντώνιος Η - - - ΝΟΣ
 5 Ἀθήναιος
 [Η]ρακλείδης Πρόδωρος
 - - - λευς
 Διονύσιο[ς]
 Ζώσιμος Ἰσιτ[υχου]ν (?)
 10 Ἀσκληπιόδ[ωρ]ος Νον - - -
 Εὐγνώμων
 Ε[ὐ]άριστος Σεκού[νδου] or [νδείνου]
 Σαβεῖνος Ἐπαφροδεί[του] or [σίου]
 Α - - - - ΙΟΕ - - - ΕΜΛΥΝ
 15 - - - - ΟΙ - - - -
 - - - - ΙΠ - - - -

The total width and thickness are preserved. A deep groove is cut on each side of the block. The surface is so badly worn that much of the inscription is illegible. It probably belongs to an ephebic list.

34. Fig. 84. E. M. 12731. Fragment of white marble found September 19, 1932, in the late fill above the east entrance to the cave.



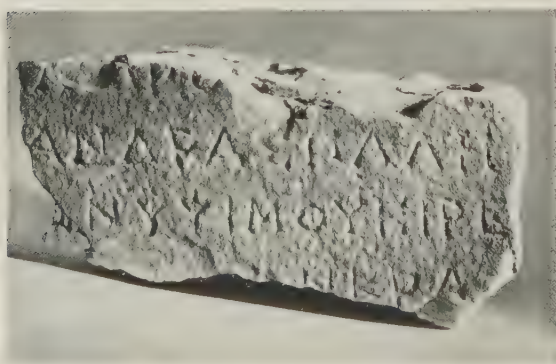
Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.
Height of letters, 0.018–0.02 m.

----- α ι θ -----
----- ρ μ -----
----- ο ι -----
----- ω ε -----
----- ε β α -----

The forms of the letters indicate that the date is Roman, probably the first century A.D.

Fig. 84.
Inscription No. 34

35. Fig. 85. E. M. 12715. Small fragment of inscription on white marble, broken on all sides, found in a late wall along the modern road north of the Acropolis.



Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.19 m.;
thickness, 0.195 m.

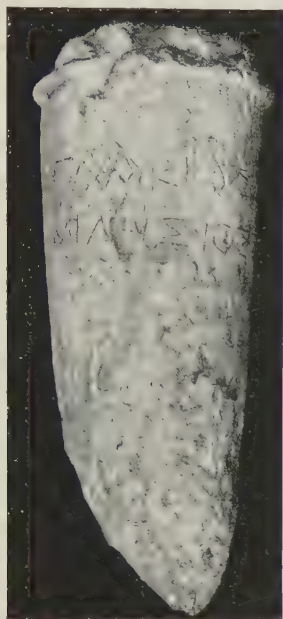
Height of letters, 0.012 m.

----- Ἀλεξ[?]δ[?]ρο[?]
ἀνδρας πάλην
----- ων Ὑψίμου Εἰς[?]δης
π] ἀνκράτ[?]ον

The fragment belongs to a list of victors, probably from the second century B.C.

Fig. 85. Inscription No. 35

36. Fig. 86. E. M. 12712. *Kioniskos* of blue marble found April 30, 1932, close to the east entrance to the cave.



Height, 0.42 m.; diameter at the top, 0.15 m.
Height of letters, 0.020–0.025 m.

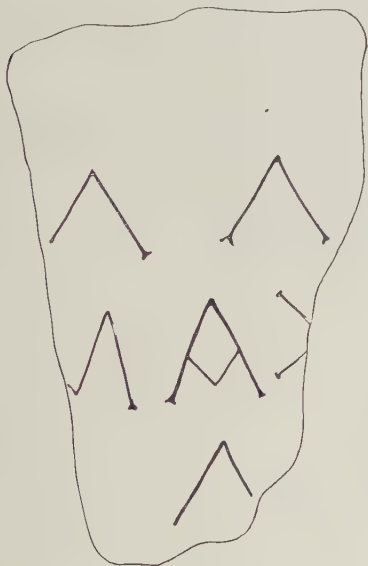
Γλαυκίας¹

Μελίσσιος

The letters are carelessly cut. Between the *alpha* and the *ypsilon* of line 1 a large *alpha* has been inserted, probably after the inscription was cut.

Fig. 86. Inscription No. 36

37. Fig. 87. E. M. 12728. Small fragment of *kioniskos* of blue marble found September 12, 1932, in late fill in the lower area.



Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.04 m.

- - - λλ - - -
- - - μ α χ - - -
- - - λ - - -

Fig. 87. Inscription No. 37

¹ Possibly this Glaukias is the father of Perigenes, whose gravestone was found at the Kerameikos, *I.G.* III¹ 2783.

38. Fig. 88. E. M. 12730. Small fragment of *kioniskos* of blue marble found September 17, 1932, in a late fill in the lower area.



Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

----- πον -----
----- νη -----

Fig. 88. Inscription No. 38

39. Fig. 89. E. M. 12737. Fragment of white marble found October 10, 1932, slightly west of the *περίπατος* inscription.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.40 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.020–0.025 m.

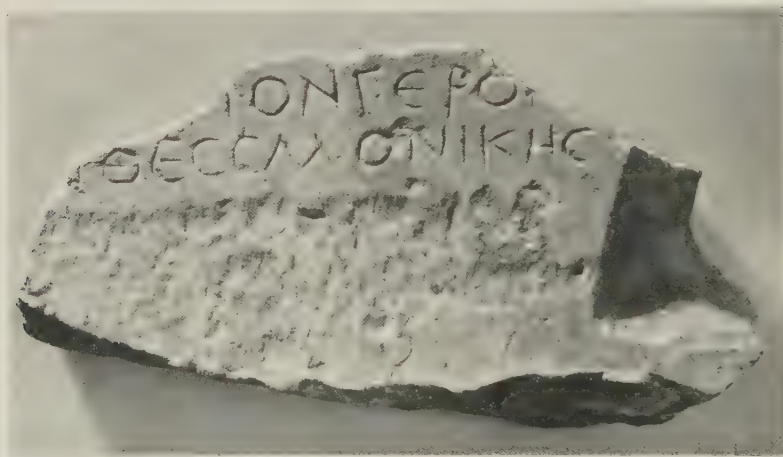


Fig. 89. Inscription No. 39

κοιμητή]ριον γέρον[τος (?) -----
----- ! Θεσσαλονίκης -----

With the inscription were found some coarse Byzantine vases (p. 348) and two Byzantine column capitals of marble. Below the second line of the inscription the surface of the marble has been hacked away, probably in order to erase the last two lines.

APPENDIX

On the North Slope of the Acropolis several sanctuaries are known to have existed, some of which have been identified with certainty (cf. p. 346). But hitherto the East Slope has remained almost unknown territory. The large cave¹ in the middle of the

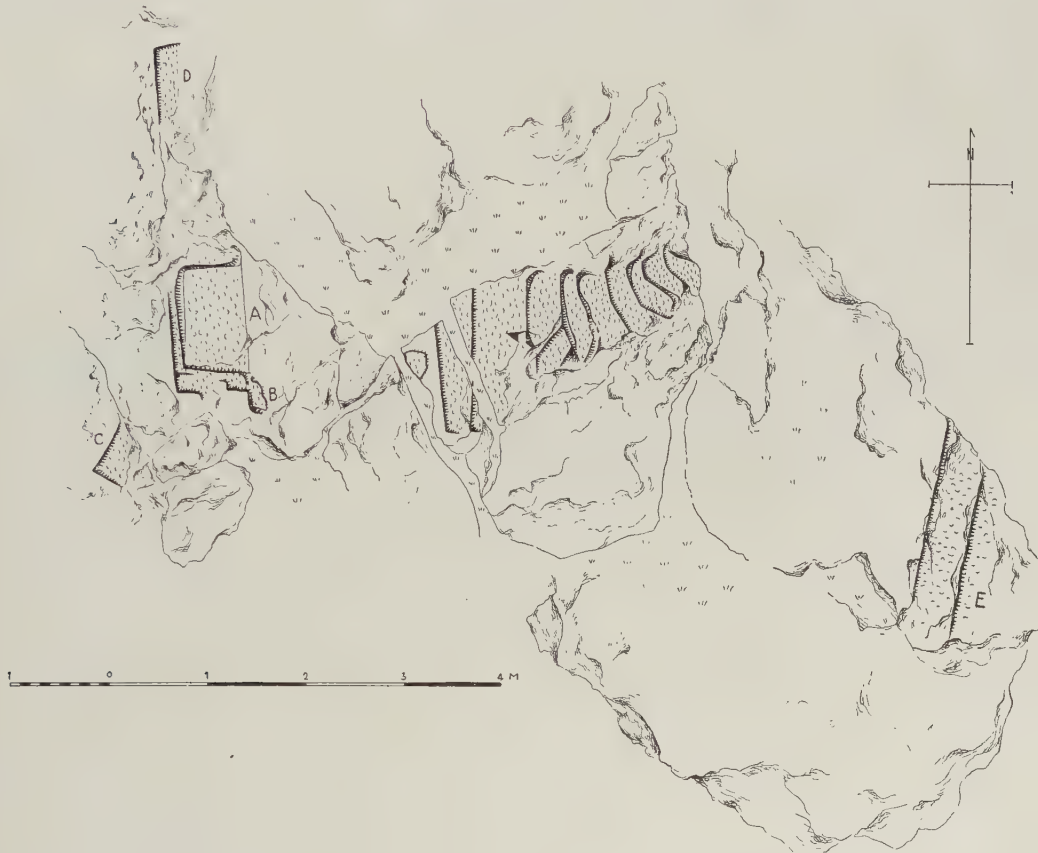


Fig. 90. Plan of Rock-Cut Bedding and Steps on East Slope

slope has never been properly investigated. A large heap of earth dumped down from the excavations on the Acropolis now fills the front of the cave. It is most unlikely that this spacious cavern, which in ancient times probably was still larger, was not utilized by the primitive settlers in Athens. Recently I discovered some traces of occupation which seem to point to a cult in this vicinity. These traces, which have, to all appearances, escaped the attention of the topographers, are sufficiently important

¹ The early view that the Eleusinion was located in the cave is now commonly rejected. Cf. W. Judeich, *op. cit.* pp. 287 ff. and 305.

to require a brief description. Above the north edge of the large cave a rock-cut stairway (Figs. 90 and 91) ascends from the edge of the cliff toward the west. Only ten rather irregular steps remain. At the top the stairway has a width of *ca.* 1.60 m. but at the bottom it is only half as wide. Above the highest preserved step, where the rock is very irregular, the stairway may have been made of separate stones which have since disappeared. At a distance of less than two metres from the topmost step there is a smooth bedding cut in rock, *ca.* 1 m. long and 0.60 m. wide at the bottom (Fig. 90 A).



Fig. 91. Rock-Cut Bedding and Steps Seen from the North

On the south and west sides the rock has been cut away to form a rabbet. A small cutting at B close to the southwest corner of the bedding may be part of the highest step of the stairway. There are also two smaller cuttings (Fig. 90, C and D), one to the north, the other to the southwest of the large bedding. Below the stairway to the northeast is a large piece of rock which has broken away from the hillside. This seems to have been leveled off artificially on top, and on the east side are two long cuttings (Fig. 90 E) which may have served as steps. There is no indication how this place was reached from below in ancient times or how the stairway was connected with the lower slope. At present the ascent is very difficult. Directly below the stairway toward the east are some modern houses, the roofs of which are lower than the lowest preserved step of the stairway. It may be that the lower ledge of the rock has fallen away and has been broken up for building material.

It is obvious that the stairway was made as a means of approach to some object that stood on the rock-cut bedding at A. The stairway is turned directly toward the

ATHENS EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS 1932



J. Travlos 32.

bedding, and there are no indications of steps higher up the slope. Since the stairway is cut in rock with considerable care it must have served some important purpose. The most obvious explanation is that an altar of some other cult object at A (Fig. 90) was reached from below by means of the stairway. The widening of the steps toward the top would be necessary in order to allow sufficient space for the ceremonies in front of the altar. It is, perhaps, not without importance that the bedding is oriented due north to south so that the altar would face directly east. An excavation below the stairway might yield some objects that would throw further light on this place, but the houses are so close to the ledge that without their removal no investigation can be undertaken. The path surrounding the Acropolis at the foot was probably not far below the bottom of the stairway.

OSCAR BRONEER

THE LIST OF *ARCHONTES*, I.G.² II 1706

PLATES XII, XIII, XIV

With reason Ferguson prompted a new examination of this inscription.¹ Roussel, concluding one of the better reviews of Dinsmoor's great *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, remarks, "Attendons maintenant l'apport des fouilles [de l'agora d'Athènes] et rappelons que les fragments du catalogue d'archontes I.G.² II 1706 ont été trouvés 'dans la région de l'antique agora.'" ² Dinsmoor had already called this archon list "the keystone of [his] entire structure."³ Six editions, and a long list of articles and notices, have made it known outside the circle of specialists. It is our earliest and fullest list of the nine *archontes*; it has long supported the Ferguson Law of Secretary Cycles; its internal order is the basis for another Law, that of Beloch. No one, however, had studied the stones themselves with quite that meticulous curiosity which such a document demands; and in the course of the present article, which attempts some such treatment, a new source of importance is, I think, added to the rest. For it appears that the stones bear evidence, not known hitherto, which militates against Dinsmoor's arrangement of the cycles in this period, and in favor of the scheme of Ferguson.⁴

¹ On points architectural as well as epigraphical, Professor Ferguson, who has personally examined the stones, has been constantly helpful. I have had the advantage of conversation with Professor T. Leslie Shear, Director of the Agora Excavations, on matters especially of topography. Professor Richard Stillwell, Director of the American School; Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Annual Professor at the American School; Dr. Homer A. Thompson and Dr. James H. Oliver, excavators of the Agora under Professor Shear, have all examined the stones and placed their knowledge at my disposal. To Professor Stillwell particularly I am grateful for what seems to me a solution of the riddle of the cuttings; to Professor Meritt for help with readings; to Dr. Thompson for other expert advice. From Professor W. B. Dinsmoor I have the honor of acknowledging my keenest criticism; if I still disagree, it is the disagreement of a student with a master. To Mr. A. Philadelphus, Director of the Epigraphical Museum, I owe not only kind permission to work on the stones, but also friendly interest during the undertaking. Thanking all, I wish to implicate none of these gentlemen either in agreement or in disagreement except as is expressly stated. The plates are the work of my sister, Miss Elizabeth Dow.

² *Rev. d. Et. Anc.* XXXIV 1932, p. 204.

³ *Archons*, p. 203.

⁴ Future scholars, following the exciting controversy over tribal cycles, will note that Ferguson's book, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Harvard Historical Monographs, I (Cambridge, 1932) had just gone to press when Meritt was able to obtain access to an inscription which had given Ferguson one of his points of attack on Dinsmoor. Here Meritt read hitherto unrecorded letters which showed that

The inscription consists simply of four fragments (A, B, C, and D, as shown in Pl. XII), which bear on their fronts a list of names with titles. The new evidence, which is derived from the backs of the four stones, will be presented first (Part I). This will illuminate the history of the stones themselves, of the text, and of the chronology based thereon, which together will compose Part II. Part III, a new reconstruction, is introduced by the refutation in Part II of certain previous theories, and is based on the new facts about the back (Part I). A new text follows (Pl. XIV). It has seemed best to discuss the matters based on the text, such as the tribal affiliations of the *archontes*, in another paper, to be published in *Hesperia*, on the various lists of *archontes*.

PART I: THE SIDES AND BACK

It did not escape Dinsmoor that, for the height demanded in his reconstruction, the recorded thickness of the stones (0.08 m. in I.G.² II 1706) was exceptionally small and but for his remark (*Archons*, p. 190) suspicions might never have occurred to anyone. The four stones were long since set in plaster in a wooden frame. The rear side was boarded over, and only the front was visible. The backs of stones, unless of course they are opisthographic, are almost never informative; and my removal of the blocks from the plaster was prompted by an editorial conscience rather than by hope, despite the curious thinness.

We shall look first at Fragment A, then at B, C, and D, in order (see the diagrams, Pl. XII), and we may begin with the side and the thickness. The left or outer edge of A shows a treatment common to all the fragments (see Fig. 1).¹ The side itself, as in B, C, and part of D, is trimmed with a tooth chisel. There is no anathyrosis. The sides vary from 0.09 to 0.10 m. in width. We may pause to note that this measurement is the one handed down from long ago and given as the total thickness (as in I.G.² II 1706) for fragments A, B, and C; for D no thickness was recorded. This was an error, for the stones are actually much thicker; along the two sides the back was chamfered down in a wide band, and the edge was trimmed sharp (Fig. 2). The effect produced, as Ferguson remarked, is that of a squared stone, whether the point of view is frontal or oblique; the irregularities of the back ordinarily pass unnoticed. In Fragment A, for instance, the stone at its thickest measures 0.127 m. and at its thinnest 0.114 m., and the edge is chamfered off with a pointed chisel in a band roughly worked and measuring about 0.065 m. wide; it terminates along the edge of this and the other fragments in an

what had appeared to be a decisive inscription was actually non-committal (*Am. Jour. Arch.* 1933, pp. 46-47; *Cycles*, Addenda, p. 179). Very shortly after this, the examination here recorded appeared to provide obstacles for Dinsmoor and to offer support to Ferguson.

¹ In Fig. 1, Frg. D is set near C merely for photographic purposes. It occupies, however, the position generally assigned to it until now, whereas we shall find reason later to set it not 0.06 but 0.26 m. below C (Part III).

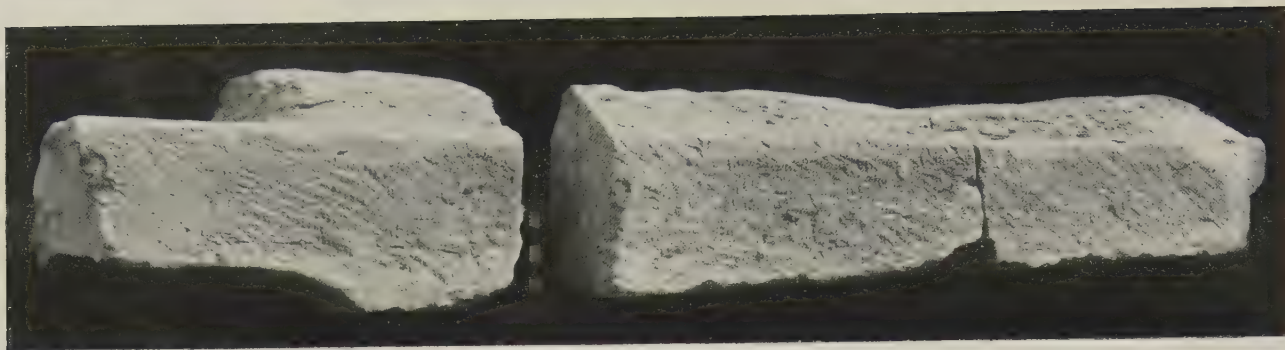


Fig. 1. The Left Side of the Stele I.G.² II 1706: Frgs. D, C, A

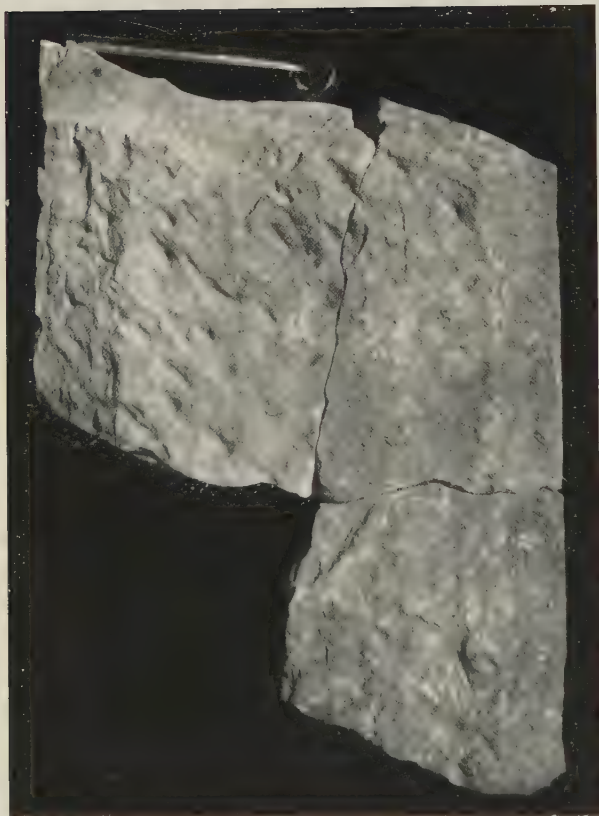


Fig. 2. I.G.² II 1706, the Backs of Frgs. B, A, C

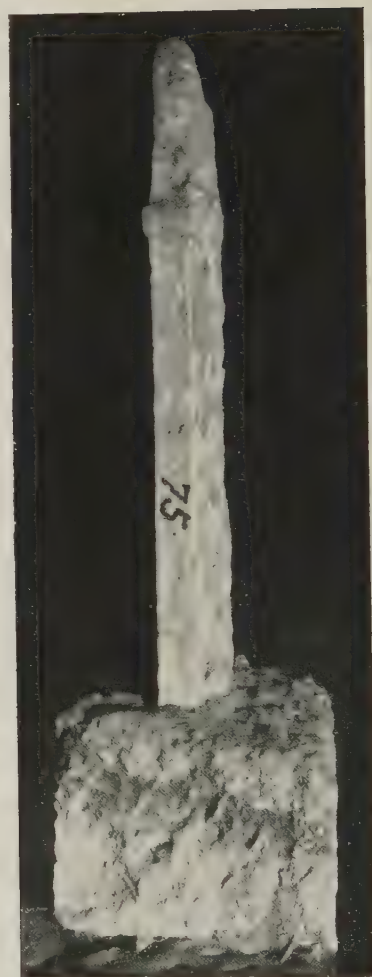


Fig. 3. Side View of Stele EM 75

irregular-edged flat strip about 0.01 m. wide. This flat strip on the back, and two others on the edges of the side, were cut to define the front and back edges of the stele.¹

The rest of the back is rough work, as in the other three fragments. There can be no doubt whatever that the back and all the other cuttings on the four stones are the original Greek work. This point may need insistence. Every detail in *I.G.*² II 1706, except the treatment of the top and bottom, can be paralleled many times on undoubtedly intact stelae; and the top and bottom are vouched for by other close if not precisely parallel examples, as well as by the tooling. The side edges of stelae at the back for instance were frequently chamfered down so as to narrow the width of the side, which was to be smoothed; to prove this point beyond dispute, we have a stele in its original setting, with the lead visible (EM 75, Fig. 3). A parallel yet closer is *I.G.*¹ II 1908, a large sepulchral stele of the Fourth Century (bottom missing, top entirely preserved; height 1.63 m., width at top 0.565 m.; total thickness 0.29 m.; the edges are chamfered down at the back in a band 0.10 m. wide, so that the finished side is only 0.235 m. thick). On this stele, which could not possibly have been a pilaster, we have sides treated exactly as in our list. Similar in treatment, and close in date, is *I.G.*² II 848 (Archelaos) of 212/1. The moulding at the top and tenon at the bottom assure us that this was a stele. The sides (Fig. 4) have the same thickness (*ca.* 0.10 m.) as *I.G.*² II 1706, and the total thickness is identical (up to 0.14 m.); 848 is somewhat narrower (0.376-0.423 m.) and shorter (1.14 m., being broken at the line of insertion into its base). The sides are chamfered very broadly, so that in section the back is roughly rounded. Again, the backs of stelae were commonly very roughly worked (doubtless at the quarry) with a blunt point as here, giving precisely the same effect. *The cuttings are accordingly the well attested cuttings of stelae.* We might conclude therefore from them alone that we are dealing with a stele, not as has been suggested, a revetment or pilaster. The absence of anathyrosis and the newly discovered greater thickness are equally compelling evidence on this point.

This conclusion is the first result of the new study; and we may introduce at this point a consonant fact, namely that the stone tapered (Fig. 2). When A and B were carefully cleaned and the join made, the whole was 0.482 m. wide at the level of the top of line 3, and 0.492 m. wide at the level of the top of line 28—these being the most widely separate points where a true measurement could be made. This fact was already patent to an observer who was not misled by the lines of the wooden frame; but the taper missed being recorded.

Fragment B produced the second result of the new study, namely the fact that *we possess almost the very top of the stele* (Fig. 5). The back of this stone at the top is

¹ In an irregular area about 0.25×0.15 m., mostly on the lower three fourths of Fragment A but spreading also to B and C, the pock-marks of the original chisel are lacking, along with a centimeter or so of the surface (Fig. 2). This whole area is weathered like the rest and its condition seems to be due to some insignificant accident.

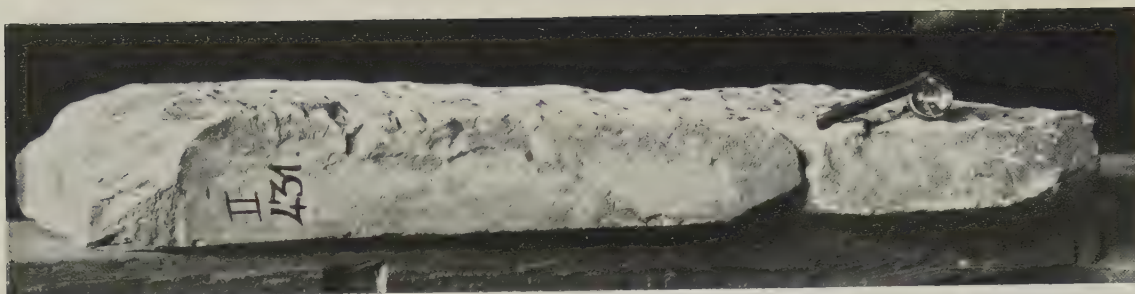


Fig. 4. Top and Right Side of *I.G.*² II 818

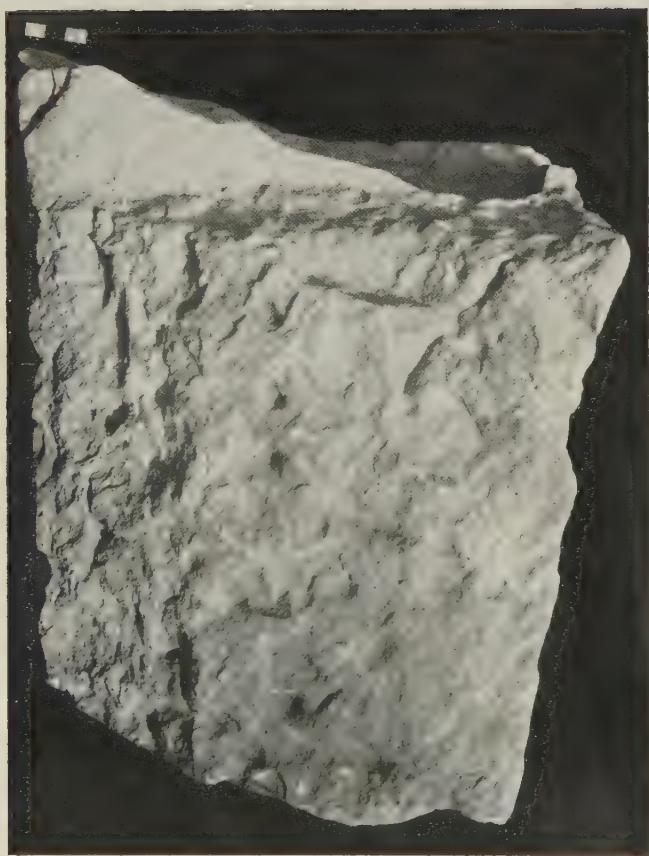


Fig. 5. Back of *I.G.*² II 1706, Frg. B



Fig. 6. Back of *I.G.*² II 1706, Frg. D

worked down until the stone is only as thick as the flat sides, which are uniformly between 0.09 and 0.10 m. thick. This thin portion of the stone is preserved, with the trimmed back, to a height of 0.06 m.; but the break in the middle of the stone allows the thin band to have been 0.072 m. high, although neither face is preserved to this



Fig. 7. Back and Bottom of I.G.² II 1706, Frg. D

height. (Part of this thinned top is seen also on A.) It is noteworthy that although the thinned top is fairly smooth behind, it was given very little treatment with the tooth chisel; hence no join with wood or stone behind is suggested. The purpose is scarcely doubtful: it was narrowly to avoid (without joining) some member.—Presumably the stele was trimmed level at the top (which probably had no pediment, but only a moulding, as in I.G.² II 848). The questions of just how much inscribed surface is lost at the top, and how the thinning is to be explained, will be approached in Part III.¹

¹ It should be noted also that on Fragment B, the side, instead of making a right angle with the front as on A, C, and D, is cut back 0.005 m. in 0.08 m. of thickness.—B is 0.128 m. thick; it is thinned down to 0.085 m. at the top.—The front bears traces of red paint and a patch of modern plaster. There was no trace of plaster on the back or sides.

Fragment C, which joins A, displays nothing unusual, but repeats features now familiar: the irregular but original back, the stone varying from 0.127 to 0.136 m. in total thickness; the chamfered band, here 0.07 to 0.08 m. wide; and the side, tooth-chiselled, 0.09 to 0.095 m. wide. The top joins A; the other two sides are broken irregularly.

Fragment D (Figs. 6, 7) is broken irregularly on three sides, and makes no join with the other three fragments; it had been set in the plaster with some 0.07 m. intervening between it and C, and thus was located just under the supposed middle of the inscription. Instead—this is the third and most important new discovery,—D *actually*



Fig. 8. I.G.² II 848, Left Side and Bottom (Frg. B)

belongs near the very bottom of the stele. The evidence consists of a trimming down of the back of the stone, which is just 0.14 m. thick at its maximum (the average thickness of D is *ca.* 0.131 m.), to a strip at the bottom which is equal in thickness to the sides¹ and the thinned top of the stele (on Fragment D the thinned part is 0.099 m. thick). The slope from rough back to tooled bottom is steep but is not, and was not intended for, a right angle. The thinner part is worked with a tooth chisel rather more generally than the top of Fragments A–B, but giving much the same effect, and is preserved on the back face to a height of 0.11 m., between the faces to 0.12 m. The bottoms of stelae are often irregular, but in this instance the absence of any trace of

¹ It is interesting to note (Fig. 1) that on D alone, some 0.07 m. of the side, measuring from the bottom of the stone, has been smoothed down, instead of being merely tooth-chiselled. Presumably this treatment began at the line of insertion into the base, but was continued only along the edges. On the back this treatment of the edge makes the edge lower than the rest of the thinned part of the back. Hence the treatment of the thinned part of the back, as Professor Stillwell pointed out, does not suggest contact with any member; for if joined our block would leave a crack between the stones just where anathyrosis should exist to prevent it.

leading or of a tenon proves that Fragment D is broken at the bottom. No exact parallel for this treatment of the lowest part of the back of a stele has come to light, but we have instructive analogies, such for example as I.G.² II 848 (Archelaos) of 212/1 (Fig. 8). Here the back is chamfered down on all four edges, and at the bottom there is preserved the beginning of a tenon, which was 0.048 m. thinner than the central portion of the back, and approximately equal to the smoothed sides in thickness. The near date (only a year or less later) and the similar size make this example important, and it proves that the amount of thinning in I.G.² II 1706 is regular for a stele. For the careful tooling on the lower back of I.G.² II 1706, however, no parallel has come to light. *Instead of the ordinary sloping down of the back to the tenon, a vertical cut was made to avoid contact with some architectural member.*

This thinning of the back is exceptional,¹ and exceptional also is the extent of the inscription, which in its present state continues to the break on the front, only 0.04 m. above the lowest point of preserved stone (Fig. 11, p. 441), and on any theory continued originally beyond. Athenian stelae were commonly inscribed only to within 0.20 m. or more of the setting line; although, as on I.G.² II 848, wreathes might extend almost to the base. The important point in any event is clear; an approximate limit is established for the top and bottom of the inscription. At both top (Fragments A–B) and bottom (Fragment D), it should end as immediately as possible. Every line restored above line 1 and below line 86 in the first column is by so much a strain on the clear evidence of the back.²

PART II: HISTORY OF THE STELE AND OF THE TEXT³

The stone, with light and dark blue and, in D only, three white veins, may have been quarried in a middle stratum of Mount Hymettos;⁴ the veins run in planes almost exactly

¹ The *weakening* of the back at the bottom is not exceptional, as I.G.² II 848, which is cut down (Fig. 8) from 0.143 to 0.095 m., proves; nevertheless it seems poor workmanship.

² In this footnote are set down various particulars which are usually given for completeness:

Maximum vertical measurement of A joined to C	0.69 m.
Width of inscribed area, lines 3 + 92	0.245 m.
Width of inscribed area, lines 28 + 158	0.2525 m.
Height of each letter	0.004–0.005 m.
Height of each letter plus interspace	0.010 m.

There is no true margin on the left. The horizontal spacing of letters varies generally with the length of the line: the word ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ, which has 10 full letters (M making up for I) occupies 0.08 m. with the 9 interspaces. A small but definite *vacat* follows the abbreviations ΑΡΧ, ΒΑΣ, and ΗΟΛ.

³ The notes to this section make up a bibliography of all the titles which seem worth considering.

⁴ The upper stratum is darker blue: cf. G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, pp. 26–27.

parallel with the front. The stele was shaped at the quarry by a dull pick, and the final dressing on front and sides was by a tooth chisel with six teeth: a cheap job, since no proper smoothing of the surface was attempted. As we shall see, in 213/2 or soon after, a secretary cycle having come to its end, the stele was inscribed with the names of all those who had held archonships in and since the year of liberation from Macedon, 230/29 B.C.; including, that is, a large part of the then membership of the Areopagos, 163 names in all, presumably the city's best. The lettering was wretched—Athens never produced worse,—the same hand perhaps being recognizable in two decrees (*I.G.*² II 846 and 847) erected two years earlier, and in several others of the period. A glance at the photographs (Figs. 9, 10, 11) shows the Α, Λ, and Δ, split at the top in the way which characterizes the lettering of this era;¹ one notes at the same time a certain regularity of spacing and uniformity of shape, for it is not the work of a beginner, and it is by no means without character. The stele was then² set up somewhere in the Agora, just where,³ however, we can only speculate. The surface had been prepared for the archons of exactly four tribal cycles,⁴ but the list was never continued beyond the middle of the second, where it terminates at the end not of an archon cycle, but of a secretary cycle.⁵ No more was ever added.⁶

The fall of the stele did not break apart our fragments A, B, and C, which lay in the soil in such a position that acid liquids, with which the much lived-upon Agora soil is rancid, trickled across the face and ate out little rows of pits and gashes or left a stoney deposit (see commentary on text, e.g., lines 131, 142, 143). In this period, too, apparently its position permitted part of the back to be worn down (see *above*, p. 421, note 1). That it lay near the surface is also vouched for by the fact that it was in all probability broken up in order to be used as fill in the "Valerian" wall, where it was found. Nicks were made so that it should split properly (hence for instance our loss at the beginnings of lines 31–35); no block was larger than one man could handle.

¹ Wilhelm, *Urk. Dram.*, p. 63. Researches by the present writer in the technique and styles of Athenian inscriptions strongly confirm Wilhelm's words.

² Modern practice and common sense tell us that stelae were normally first inscribed and then erected. Those inscribed after erection, such as grave stelae to which more names were added later, are often badly inscribed (e.g. Conze, no. 1558, Pl. CCCXXVII). The last year on the Salaminian list (*SIG* II 9), that of the archon Eurykleides, was also added after the stele was erected: it is the same hand, cramped (see the squeeze, A. D. Keramopoulos, *Ὁ Αποτυπώνισμος*, p. 113, Pl. 18).

³ It was found near others which were to be set up *παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον* (see list, *below*, p. 428). Some may be tempted to believe that the Archon List, with its beginning in the year of liberation, was also set up near Zeus Eleutherios. It may equally well have been set in some building associated with the Areopagos.

⁴ With this observation of Ferguson's (*Tribal Cycles*, p. 96, n. 2) accord the lack of a true margin on the left, and the measurements of the columns (*above*, p. 425, n. 2) which are as accurate as one should expect.

⁵ The secretary and other routine-office cycles with their prescribed order were regularly the basis of such lists, rather than the allotted archon cycles: Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 90–91.

⁶ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 96, n. 2.

The number of blocks that resulted was possibly eleven.¹ At least four of the blocks were inserted in the wall or buildings close to it; A, C, and D were now parted from B, which acquired some red paint. Fragment D was clearly built into a wall, for the back still had bits of plaster adhering in 1932; Dr. Thompson noted that it was decidedly too soft to be Greek plaster. The other three never, apparently, received plaster; for when they were examined in 1932 much dirt was still left, but no trace of plaster. The edges of all the fragments received wear, but the surface has reached us, aside from the pittings, for the most part as crisp as when the six-tooth chisel finished its work.

Thus it happened that in 1851, beneath the courtyard of the house which Stamates Psomas had bequeathed to his only child Louisa, B was discovered, along with parts of 31 other inscriptions, mostly fragments, many of them important. The house stood on or near the ruins of the church called of Christ, not far below that of Hypapantes, where among Turkish buildings inscriptions had been found as early as 1822.² The first publication³ of the new find, in handsome format, which contained among other things merely a drawing of B, had an account⁴ of the finding decidedly less factual than the one⁵ called forth by the hearty onslaught⁶ of Rangabé, who had not been allowed even to see the new pieces. The original publication was signed by Pittakys, Charames, and Eustratiades (in that order): credit is usually given⁷ to Eustratiades alone. It was Pittakys, however, who made the find and replied to Rangabé. Hoping that more bits were to be found, the officials overcame all obstacles and in 1852 made the most brilliant discovery of inscriptions ever made in the Agora region.⁸ Their work was thorough. Further excavation in the same spot by Kourouniotes in 1910 turned up a dozen more inscribed bits but they are of rather less importance.⁹ The wall found is certainly part of the "Valerian" wall.¹⁰

¹ The two from the top bore the moulding, the heading, and the beginnings of the columns of names; next below came our A and B; then C and a lost uninscribed piece; then a lost inscribed piece and a lost uninscribed piece; then D; and finally two lost parts of the lowest region (as in Pl. XII). This is of course schematic; as to the fragment lost between C and D, see *below*, p. 435.

² Pittakys in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1853, p. 880, n. 1. For Hypapantes, an important land-mark for the *Fundorte* of inscriptions, see A. Mommsen, *Christianae Athenae*, pp. 22–24; for Christos, pp. 90–91.

³ The full title of this rare item is *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι Ἀνακαλύφθῃσαι καὶ Ἐκδόθῃσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου. Ἀθήνησιν* (1) 1851, (2) 1852, (3) 1855. Fragment B is there numbered 18 (4).

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 3 f.

⁵ *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1855 (not 1854 as in Judeich, p. 331, n. 1), p. 1280, n. 1; see also *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1853, p. 880, n. 1.

⁶ The bleak narrative of Larfeld (*Handbuch*, I, pp. 102–103, 106) makes no mention of eight pages in *Antiquités Helléniques* ("Au Lecteur," I–VIII) which are readable not so much for a personal attack as for a picture of the parlous state of Athenian inscriptions in 1855.

⁷ E.g., Larfeld, *Handbuch*, p. 106.

⁸ Pittakys, who had busied himself copying inscriptions even before the Turks left, declared that no larger lot had ever been found in Athens, in one place (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1853, p. 880, n. 1).

⁹ *Πρακτικά* for 1910 (pub. 1911), pp. 136–151.

¹⁰ See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 330–331 and note; p. 108; p. 165 and n. 2. Judeich seems not to have used the *Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Ἀνέκδοτοι* of 1851 and 1852.

The new finds were set forth at once in a *Φυλάδιον Δεύτερον* (1852) over the same signatures. We learn that the excavation began within the area of the Psomas house and proceeded toward Hypapantes—uphill, that is, in the direction of the Acropolis. They were looking for the Bouleuterion, but had to admit that the large rough poros blocks actually discovered were rather the “Valerian” wall. These poros blocks compose the two faces of the wall. The architectural, sculptural, and epigraphical blocks discovered had been used chiefly as fill, packed in with earth, clay, or lime. The excavators noted with curiosity that the inscriptions found outside the wall were insignificant fragments, aside from the blocks extracted in the excavations of the previous year. The latter had come from what proved to be an enclosed area (the evidence did not enable Kourouniotes to determine whether it was synchronous with the wall itself¹) of which the wall formed the east side. A cistern had been built within the wall and it was on both sides of this that the new lot, over 100 inscribed blocks, were found. All these had been broken by the hand of man, declared the observant excavators;² and they noted that they had come upon the many fragments of comparatively few large stelae, rather than of many small stelae.

A list of the principal inscriptions has not been made hitherto, but it is worth scanning:—

PRINCIPAL INSCRIPTIONS FOUND BENEATH THE PSOMAS HOUSE

<i>I.G.</i> ² II	Archon	Date ³	Substance	Standort
43	Nausinikos	378/7	Second Athenian League	παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον
487	Pherekles	304/3	Honors citizen	ἔμπροσθεν [τ]οῦ Βουλευτηρίου ⁴
665	Nikias Otr.	268/7	Honors ephebes	ἐν ἀγοραῖ
676	Glaukippos	275/4	Honors religious officials	ἐ[ν τε] ἀγοραῖ
681	Polyeuktos	255/4	Honors ephebes	—
689	Arrheneides	262/1	Honors priest of Zeus	[πρὸς τ]εῖ στοᾶ[τ] τοῦ Διός[ς]
690	—	“c. 262/1”	Honors priest of Zeus	πρὸς τεῖ στοᾶι τε[ῖ τοῦ Διός]
766	Philoneos	241/0	Honors ephebes	[ἐν ἀγοραῖ]
787	Ekphantos	236/5	Honors ephebes	—
791 ⁵	Diomedon	253/2?	Contributions	ἐν τῇ ἀγοραῖ

¹ *Πρακτικά* for 1910, p. 138. A bolder opinion may be ventured, to wit that the protruding wall, being firmly bonded to the “Valerian” wall, is part of it; and that this tower or redoubt interrupted the (earlier) road along-side which, as a natural guiding line, the wall was built. The architectural blocks await study in connection with similar blocks in the area of the Agora excavations, particularly the Hymettian drums near the Stoa of Attalos.

² Inspection at the Museum shows that no one of the fragments is too large to be handled by one man.

³ In most of the disputed instances the dates are taken from Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, Table II, Scheme A, pp. 22 ff.

⁴ For topographical significance, Judeich², p. 347 and n. 4.

⁵ Incidentally, for the last preserved letter in line 4, these first editors innocently read alpha. (See Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 16–17.)

I.G. ² II	Archon	Date	Substance	Standort
792	(... bios)	"c. 230"	Honors custodian of grain	[ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὗ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Δ]ιὸς ἐστίν
917 ¹	c. 8	223/2?	Honors prytaneis	ἐ[ν] τῷ π[ρυτανικῷ]
920	—	"init. s. II"	Honors prytaneis	[ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ] ὦι
937	—	"c. s. II"	—	—
989	—	c. 150	Honors prytany officials	—
1706	(Herakleitos)	213/2	List of <i>archontes</i>	—
2336 ²	Prokles	99/8	Contributors	—

One has only to think of Athenian epigraphy deprived of I.G.² II 43, 791, 1706, and 2336, to realize the singular importance of the discovery. The number of inscriptions to be set up in front of the statue or the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (and incidentally their content) is interesting; the more so since only one other inscription on which we can read that it was to be set up near Zeus has been discovered.³ (It was the mention in others of the Prytaneion and the Bouleuterion which started a persistent false legend that one or both of these buildings was *necessarily* close by.) We may imagine that a number of large stelae, having survived more or less entire, were broken into convenient sizes and collected from diverse parts of the former Agora to make the fill of the "Valerian" wall at this particular point.⁴

The later literature is in general more accessible and less neglected, so that we need dwell only on editions of the text and the decisive steps in establishing its chronology. Pittakys⁵ and his colleagues had already perceived that they were dealing with a Hellenistic list of the nine *archontes* inscribed all at one time, and that Fragment D, having but one column and a preserved left edge, should be placed beneath the other

¹ *Below*, p. 436–438.

² See now Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 51.

³ I.G.² II 448, archon Archippos of 318/7, which honors Euphron of Sicyon; one copy was to be set πα[ρὰ τ]ὸν Αἶα τὸν Σωτῆρα, the other on the Acropolis (lines 27–28, 69–70). This former tall stele, somewhat water-worn, was found almost entire in the railway cut near the Theseion; doubtless, as Professor Shear has pointed out to me, it was used like several newly found stelae as a cover for the drain (Shear, *Hesperia* II [1933], pp. 103–6 and pl. IV) which passes in front of the buildings identified as the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa, and must have continued into the area of the railway cut. I.G.² II 448 was first published in *Δελτ. Αρχ.* 1892, pp. 56 f. Taken by itself, the topographical significance of this huge and well-preserved stele (dimensions *below*, p. 433, n. 2) would be suggestive; but the topographical evidence of the *Fundorte* of inscriptions is notoriously unreliable.

⁴ G. Guidi, *Annuario*, IV, 1921 (pub. 1924), pp. 33–54, has reviewed the evidence, largely epigraphical, for considering that the Diogeneion was near the church of Ag. Demetrios Kataphores, A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, no. 90. This was demolished by Koumanoudes, beginning in 1859: he dismantled a stretch of the eastern return of the wall. Inscriptions were abundant, mostly Roman.—A glance at Mommsen, *op. cit.*, will show how the majority of inscriptions found in the Agora were found in this wall: beginning at the western end, we find the following landmarks so often mentioned in the Corpus: Hypapantes (16), Christos (107), Panagia Pyrgiotissa (110), Demetrios Kataphores (90).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1852, pp. 19–22. Oddly enough, they fixed, though without sound reason, the limits 229–146 B.C.

three fragments, which they joined to each other. Meier (1854)¹ was content to use the very same plate. Rangabé, fuming, published the third edition in 1855.² For a date he hazarded, on the evidence of names and of Berenike's dates, not long after 252 B.C., and supported by his master, Boeckh, he noted correctly the characteristic lettering of the late Third Century.

Sauppe (1864)³ carried further the intelligent investigation of Rangabé, but unlike Rangabé, who thought that *archontes* were selected from the whole undivided citizenry, Sauppe was convinced that at this time selection was normally according to tribes. He was the first to list fully for this purpose our various archon lists. *I.G.*¹ II 859, Koehler's edition (1883),⁴ was based on a new reading of the original.⁵ He was content to follow Eustratiades and Sauppe in his dating, noting that two *archontes* had been ephebes under Philoneos.

Thus it was not until Beloch's brilliant article (1884)⁶ that any large contribution was made toward interpreting the data. Attacking the then current notion that the tribe Ptolemais was erected at the time of the Chremonidean War, Beloch set forth the entire list, using Koehler's edition, and affixing the tribal affiliations as they were then understood. The three senior archons, so he thought, were not necessarily of different tribes from the six thesmothetai. In this he was wrong; but his declaration that the six thesmothetai follow each other in the official order of the tribes is so generally true that it is called Beloch's Law. He was forced to admit only two exceptions (years of Antiphilos and of Menekrates), which he set down as errors by the lapidary.⁷ Making use, next, of his new Law, he ascertained that Ptolemais was created before the year of Menekrates, hence between 230 and 220 (the latter date being fixed by the correct data on Berenike and Berenikidai). The disappearance in this year of the tribe Demetrias attracted his attention; Antigonis (so he supposed) persisted without change of name, but he thought that Ptolemais supplanted Demetrias, though in a different place in the official order. He appears to have believed that there were then twelve tribes, but this did not prevent him from hailing the publication three years later of a decree (*I.G.*² II 1304) passed under the thirteenth prytany. Philios, who published it,⁸ also pointed out its confirmation of the Beloch Law, since Ptolemais had to coëxist with the Macedonian tribes in order to make up thirteen; and he saw that Ptolemais was given precisely the middle position in the official order.

¹ M. H. E. Meier, *Commentatio Epigraphica Secunda*, Halle, 1854, pp. 69 f.

² A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques II*, Athens, 1855, No. 1238.

³ H. Sauppe, *De Creatione Archontum Atticorum*, Göttingen, 1864, p. 4.

⁴ *I.G.*¹ II, no. 859, pp. 331–333.

⁵ Before Koehler's edition a bit of Frg. A, at the beginnings of lines 2–5, was chipped off and lost. It may have happened at the time when the stones were set in plaster.

⁶ *Jahrb. d. Class. Phil.* (Fleckeisen), 1884, pp. 481 f.

⁷ See further *below*, p. 444, and the forthcoming article (*Hesperia*) on lists of *archontes*.

⁸ *Ep. '40x*. 1887, cols. 175–188.

It was Russian scholars who first conjectured the correct initial date. Writing in 1888 (*Bull. Cor. Hell.* XII, p. 81), Schtschoukareff concluded, "On remarquera qu'en acceptant la première date de 228, le catalogue commencerait avec l'année dans laquelle la mort de Démétrius rendit à Athènes son indépendance." He used *I.G.*² II 1304 to establish the proper four-year intervals for Chairephon (whom he placed in l. 101 of *I.G.*² II 1706), Diokles, and Aischron, and he first adopted "Kalli - -" as the immediate predecessor of Menekrates. Of course he erred in putting the whole list too late, and it remained¹ for Schebelev, who adopted the scheme of Schtschoukareff, to date its beginning in 230/29.² This brought Chairephon (line 101) into 221/0. Schebelev wrote in the epigraphical *annus mirabilis* 1898.

During all of this time it could only be conjectured how great were the two gaps in the list,—how many years the list covered,—when it ended. Ferguson's discovery, published in 1898,³ of his Law of Secretary Cycles was crucial. It established the total length of the list and thereby the total length of the gaps; and it showed that the list ended with a secretary cycle. His dating of the whole list (Heliodoros in 237/6) was based on the then apparent continuity of the cycles, and before such a strong presumption, Schebelev's initial date, the year of liberation, had to give way.

In the next year, 1899, Von Schöffer⁴ was dissenting from Schebelev at the very time when Schebelev⁵ was claiming confirmation. The publication of the correct date for Thrasyphon had shown that the cycles would have to be broken twice, but Ferguson's internal ordering of the list was not upset, for Thrasyphon could be inserted in place of Chairephon in line 101. Kirchner⁶ too could claim confirmation, having foreshadowed Schebelev's dating. For the creation of Ptolemais, Kirchner considered that Schebelev, who had pointed out that Antiphilos was of Ptolemais, had thereby fixed 224/3 as the probable year when Ptolemais first functioned. De Sanctis⁷ adopted independently much the same solution, supplying Thrasyphon in line 101, and dating Chairephon in 219/8; for the first functioning of Ptolemais, guided by Beloch's Law and by historical considerations, he selected the year of Menekrates, 222/1 in this scheme.⁸ Kolbe's

¹ Kirchner, however, had already suggested "etwa 230-220," *Hermes*, XXVIII, 1893, p. 143, n. 1. Von Schöffer, *Pauly-Wissowa* 2 (1896), cols. 589-90, had moved the scheme of Schtschoukareff too far back.

² S. Schebelev, *Studies in the History of Athens*, 229-31 B.C. St. Petersburg, 1898 (in Russian: I have depended on a translator), pp. 39 f., and 95.

³ W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology VII, Ithaca, 1898, p. 53; with detail, *The Athenian Archons*, ditto, X, 1899, pp. 40-41.

⁴ (Berliner) *Phil. Woch.*, XIX, 1899, cols. 1026-1028.

⁵ *Jour. Rus. Min. Educ.*, 1899, March, pp. 115-120 (in Russian): I wish to thank Professor Robert P. Blake, Director of the Harvard University Library, for supplying me with a translation. In the same journal, Schtschoukareff (June, 1888) and Schebelev (June, 1897) had developed the scheme of dating which appeared in Schebelev's book of 1898. These two articles deserve mention in Dinsmoor's inclusive Bibliography (*Archons*, pp. 515-25).

⁶ *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, CLXII, 1900, pp. 446 f.; *Rh. Mus.* XLVII (1892), p. 551.

⁷ *Riv. di Fil.*, XXVIII (1900), pp. 60 f., 68.

⁸ In 1900 Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, ventured a poor text, no. 649.

work of 1908,¹ the most detailed before Dinsmoor's, was occasioned by Ferguson's *Priests of Asklepios*;² it adhered to the apparently established view of the list. Most helpful was Kolbe's insistence on four-year intervals between Chairephon, Diokles, and Aischron (*I.G.*² II 1304), with Chairephon in 219/8.

These views of Schtschoukareff, Schebeleff, Ferguson, Kirchner, De Sanctis, and Kolbe were disputed first by Beloch,³ who interrupted the cycle to place Archelaos near Heliodoros; later by Johnson,⁴ who retained the former ordering of the list by the cycles, but admitted mason's errors and subdivision of demes for the sake of the hypothesis that Ptolemais was created in 233/2. Most recently (1931) the accepted view has been disputed by Dinsmoor,⁵ who began and ended the list with a cycle, but attempted to lengthen it out far beyond what had ever been proposed.⁶ Dinsmoor's arrangement, apart from the evidence of the stones themselves, was marred only by his having to assume a break in the secretary cycles at the time (229/8 according to him) of the creation of Ptolemais. All in all, his scheme was the most daring but it was by no means reckless, so far at least as the evidence hitherto published of the stones themselves is concerned. In fact no one has respected more scrupulously the evidence of the text, nor has anyone studied it with more care. We can only deplore the ill fortune which led to its becoming "the keystone of the entire structure" before the back had been examined.

The arrangement of the cycles which led Dinsmoor to his solution can be learned best from his own attractive exposition.⁷ The result (see Pl. XII) is a list beginning in 240/39 and embracing twenty years, or 201 lines, in column one. Dinsmoor observed that this would make a very tall stele indeed (the list alone would occupy 2.01 m.) and, accepting the recorded thickness of 0.08 m., he suggested that this block or perhaps this block with another superposed, formed parts of a revetment or pilaster. We have already seen (Part I) that the stone is in fact comparatively much thicker than Dinsmoor supposed, that the sides are not worked for anathyrosis, that the right side does not make a right angle with the front, and that the sides slope upwards. If one approached such a block without bias, a stele and only a stele would suggest itself. Clearly we would never think of a revetment, to which all the aspects just enumerated are adverse.

¹ W. Kolbe, *Die Attischen Archontes von 293/2 31/0 v. Chr.*, Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött., phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F. X, 1908, pp. 66 f., 47 f.

² W. S. Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios*, University of California Publications, Classical Philology, Berkeley, 1906 (reprinted 1907), Vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 131–173. In this (p. 167) Ferguson accepted the dating of Schebeleff and Kirchner.

³ J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², IV 2, pp. 92 f., 95, retains this position.

⁴ *Am. Jour. Philol.*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 381 f.; XXXV, 1914, pp. 79–80.

⁵ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, pp. 190 f., and Appendix E, pp. 460–463.

⁶ G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, Vol. II, had an edition, no. 542, signed [Ki] = Kirchner. *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Ed. Minor, II–III, iv, 1706, the most recent text, appeared in 1931: this is Kirchner's second edition of the list.

⁷ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, chapters on the Third Century, especially XII. For the list by itself, pp. 190 ff., 201–203, and Appendix E, pp. 460–463.

A pilaster is scarcely more favored. The natural ways to make a pilaster for a stone building are (1) to cut it on the faces of wall blocks, so that it is not a separate member, or (2) to make it a separate member with a flat back to set firmly against the wall, to which it would have to be clamped. Both types are found in Greek buildings,¹ but pieces such as ours obviously are of neither type. Should anyone wish nevertheless to consider that our blocks are part of a pilaster, he would have to suppose (1) that they were set into a wall constructed mostly of concrete (for the back, with its chamfered edges, will make no join with wood or stone); (2) that the concrete, unlike most Greek cement, was so soft as to disappear so utterly from the stones that not even in the deeper tool marks did any still adhere; (3) that somewhere toward the base the stone was cut to avoid contact with another stone, or with wood which was somehow part of the wall;—an easy supposition perhaps, but (4) that somewhere toward the top or middle the stone was weakened to avoid contact with wood or stone; (5) that the block (or blocks), with surface rudely finished and sides incorrect, was part of an Athenian building; (6) that, having the whole member uninscribed, they decided to begin the list at a height of something over 2.01 m., using letters only four millimeters in height in order that eventually, some fifty years hence, the remainder of 801 lines might be added.

In order then to retain Dinsmoor's cycles, we are obliged to consider what the stones naturally suggest, namely a stele: but a very tall stele. Necessarily a monolith, the stone would bear a text 2.01 m. high, heading *ca.* 0.05 m., moulding *ca.* 0.08 m., uninscribed surface at the bottom *ca.* 0.10 m., and base for insertion into the socket *ca.* 0.08 m.—a total height of some 2.32 m. Stelae of this height such as tribute lists, grave monuments, and a few decrees exist² though we never find four-millimeter letters inscribed so high. Suppose we disregard the smallness of the letters: we must still reckon with a stele that is too thin by at least half for such a height. Suppose we disregard also the unparalleled thinness of the stele: we must conceive (see Pl. XII) a (*Hymettian*) stele weakened in its middle in order to avoid contact with some architectural member just where close contact and thickness great enough to sustain cutting for an attachment are demanded.³ Greek stelae certainly, and I think Greek construction methods generally,

¹ *E.g.*, P. Schazmann, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VI (Das Gymnasion), Text, Beiblatt 5; and large plate XXIX. Professor Stillwell, on examining the fragments with me, pointed out that the chamfering of the backs of all the fragments, and the smoothing of the side of Fragment D (*above*, p. 424, n. 1) are features most unlikely in pilaster blocks; that in fact it would be awkward if not impossible to use these blocks in a pilaster.

² For example *I.G.*² II 448 (Archon Archippos of 318/7) is 2.35 m. high, 0.60 m. wide (almost the dimensions of *I.G.*² II 1706, if Dinsmoor's reconstruction be applied to a stele): the thickness is not 0.14 m. but 0.30 m. The marble is Pentelic, a stronger stone in that it has no such veins as Hymettian.

³ The archons Leochares and Diokles are opposite each other on the stone (see Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, Table IV, p. 97). Between these archons Dinsmoor's system of cycles for virtually the entire period 263/2 to 145/4 demands an interval of twenty years: there is no escape, whether the list began in 240/39 or 233/2, as he admits (*Archons*, p. 203). In his view Column I *must* contain 201 lines. Thus it appears that his system as a whole for the period 263/2–145/4 is impaired; which is not to say that even here his method was faulty. His results remain fruitful, and his discussions (such as Appendix E) of separate problems, always models of workmanship, are still many of them valid.

offer no parallel for thus weakening a thin vertical stone in order to support it at its middle from behind. Such a solution would scarcely be acceptable if we were forced into it. We are free, on the contrary, to adopt the natural and simple evidence of the fragments: a stele not so high as to be illegible at the top, and having the usual thickness, the invariable taper of the sides, the common treatment of the back (see Pl. XII).

We have seen, then, that a majority of scholars agreed upon the dating 230/29–213/2, (Thrasylph)on being supplied in line 101; that among the three dissenters, Johnson and Beloch disagreed with each other; finally that Dinsmoor disagreed with both while advancing a scheme contradicted by the new evidence of the back. Even without this new evidence, therefore, Ferguson has recently defended a position already favored. He has been able, moreover, to give it powerful reinforcement. The reader will naturally turn to his pages at this point:¹ let him note as against Dinsmoor, (1) the stress laid on 230/29 for a suitable initial year, and as against Johnson and Dinsmoor, (2) the emphasis on the importance of dating Heliodoros after the liberation of Athens, (3) the historical situations in 229/8 and 224, of which the latter is more favorable for the creation of Ptolemais; as against Beloch and Dinsmoor, the solidifying of the sequence of secretaries, by (4) the welcome correction of the date for *Inscr. von Magnesia*, no. 37, to 209/8, and (5) by the nexus of "coincidences" involved in dating Diokles in 215/4. Even the new archon cycles contribute to this, the final establishment (so it seems to me) of the dating of *I.G.*² II 1706 as a whole.² In Part III only the alteration of details is contemplated.³

PART III: A NEW RECONSTRUCTION

We may now resume without obstruction the argument at the end of Part I (p. 425) where it was proved, without reference to the content of the inscription, that the list on Fragment D should be set as near as possible to the end of the first column. The first two Thesmothetai being preserved in part at the present end of the first column, and the last two of some year being the first preserved names at the top of the second column, the question first arises, whether these four Thesmothetai are not of one and

¹ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Harvard Historical Monographs I, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 50 ff., 90 ff.

² The stones were removed from the plaster late in 1932 for the present study. Incidentally, this greatly facilitated reading. They will be re-set shortly with as much as possible of the back exposed. In the official inventory of the Epigraphical Museum the stones collectively bear the number 8046.

³ If we glance back over the 81 years of study of this inscription, two facts obtrude themselves. The first is the unexpectedly great difficulty of reading, transcribing, and printing without error all the traces of letters on stone: so that knowledge of the stones and text has lagged far behind knowledge of the chronology. The second is that although all who have dealt with it have been led into error, and although one view after another has had to be abandoned, nevertheless all the greater scholars—the scholars we have mentioned, that is—have advanced views of ultimate value.

the same year. This would enable us to restore two more lines at the top of column two, and to let line 86 end column one,—a seemingly ideal solution. Unhappily the Beloch Law would thereby be twice violated. It is therefore necessary to consider making the year of the last archon on Fragment D (. . . . 0 X) precede an archon whose name is lost, but whose year is represented by the two Thesmothetai at the beginning of column two. We should then restore eight lines above column two, and four below column one. This solution must also be rejected; for it would bring Menekrates into the year (219/8) which Chairephon, with his secretary from Kydantide (VII),¹ must occupy. Consequently we are obliged to prefer a third solution (see Pls. XII, XIII) still less favored by the evidence of the back: to restore, namely, 14 lines after Fragment D, inserting Chairephon as the second archon eponymous mentioned on D. For accepting this we shall find other reasons. In both parts, therefore, we have restored a maximum where a minimum is favored: the top should not extend higher; the bottom should not extend lower.

To this arrangement,² which involves the insertion of (Chaireph)on in line 101, we may contemplate one and only one alternative. We must still view seriously the proposal, namely, to raise Fragment D nearer to C, setting it so that only six lines (= 0.06 m.) would appear to be lost in the gap (see Pl. XII): in other words, placing it more than two years (= 0.20 + m.) higher than the back would seem to favor. This involves supplying (Thrasyph)on in line 101, admitting that 34 lines (= 0.34 m.) of text were lost below, and conceding that the back was thinned down and carefully tooled for 0.20 m. higher than one would prefer to grant on the evidence of the back alone (or some 0.52 m. in all: *below*, p. 438). It is precisely this arrangement which was adopted by Eustradiades in 1852, and which has been retained in the accepted version since in 1899 Schebeleff suggested supplying Thrasyphon in line 101. The space in line 101, however, as the reader may discover for himself (*below*, p. 444), favors a shorter name. Secondly, the proposed gap of some 0.06 m. between C and D means an unnatural break in the stone: we have seen (*above*, p. 428) that the stele was intentionally split up into pieces suitable for building and convenient for handling. (The arrangement herein advocated, with a gap of some 0.26 m., yields just such a block: see *above*, p. 427, n. 1). A thin sliver, breaking moreover vertically to the grain (*above*, p. 425), is therefore in itself highly improbable. The evidence of the back would seem to offer potent confirmation; but the question may be raised whether the thinning and tooling were not just a narrow band across the back to accommodate possibly a string course on the top of a low wall. This hypothesis has already been rejected (*above*, p. 424, n. 1).³ Our evidence, then, for

¹ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 27, 98; *Hesperia* II 1933, p. 161, no. 7.

² In Pl. XIII the new scheme is shown with names of archons and dates.

³ A fourth argument derives from the width of the chamfering (*above*, p. 419): on C, 0.08 m., on D, 0.11 m. This suggests but does not prove a wide separation. Fifth, the partial smoothing of the side of D shows that D is near the bottom (*above*, p. 424, n. 1). It is also noteworthy that neither the veins and faults, nor the tool marks on the faces, appear to relate the blocks closely. A counterargument derives from prosopography: the archon Chairephon, supplied in line 101, cannot be identified with a contributor in the

doubting the established arrangement is of three different kinds: the spacing of letters, the breakage of stone, the treatment of stelae; and different minds will be differently impressed.¹

In either arrangement, Column I lists exactly one cycle: no slight confirmation for the Kirchner-Ferguson cycles.² To obtain this, one year is supplied above line 1, so as to balance the remains of the first year of Column II (lines 129–130). The two columns being out of correspondence by one line, it has been thought that this one line in Column I was the title. It is more probable, in view of such diverse instances as *I.G.*² II 1699, 1742, 1926, 1937, 1955, 1958 and 2332,³ that the almost invariable custom was followed and that a title in large letters was inscribed above, just under the moulding. The dislocation of columns would then be explained by supposing a *suffectus*⁴ in the first year.⁵

For testing our arrangement there is only one method, namely to attempt to insert between Antiphilos of 224/3 (on Fragment C) and Hagnias of 216/5 (top of Column II) all the archons who must be placed there. If this can be done without violence, we may claim a degree of confirmation. If instead we encounter difficulties, grave doubts are justified. The following scheme may be ventured. It embodies, I believe, no gross improbabilities and no omissions; rather, it includes two items, the Archon Euandros and ...⁶... (*I.G.*² II 917) which may belong later, but for which it is desirable

year of Diomedon (*I.G.*² II 791 of 253/2?, l. 20). Prosopography, one feels, sometimes confirms but seldom compels (see *below*, pp. 442 and 444); nevertheless this argument gives pause. Against it we may set an argument about Thrasyphon's demotic (*below*, p. 444).

¹ See also the new text of *I.G.*² II 1303, *below*, pp. 447–449.

² The stone was evidently prepared for exactly four cycles (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 96, n. 2; *above*, p. 426). There is, however, no parallel for thus equating a column with a cycle, although various lists and inventories as wholes begin and end with cycles (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 48–49).

³ The present asymmetrical restoration of the heading of *I.G.*² II 2332 is clearly incorrect, but the reading of line 2 is so dubious that one dare not attempt another.

⁴ It is strange that we do not find other *suffecti* in *I.G.*² II 1706. They were apparently listed later (*I.G.*² II 1713, lines 5–6, B.C. 124/3, and presumably in one other year of the same document, Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 284). It is astonishing that only one other instance (in A.D. 95/6?) is provided for in our records, as one may see by combining *PW* II, cols. 581–588; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 22–34, and P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, Mem. Acad. Belg., 2nd ser., VIII 2 (1922), pp. 291–300. We know of only three men, of an age to be archon eponymous, out of some 700–800, who died in office and were recorded along with their successors. (The problem is not restricted to Athens, Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 76, n. 1.) Were years designated solely by the name of the eponymon first elected? In case of a death, did the other *archontes* ordinarily assume the duties, leaving the office vacant? It was not so in 411/0, when Theopompos, who followed Mnasilochos, dates a decree (*I.G.*² I, p. 297, line 109); but this was doubtless due to political feeling. Were the missing Basileus in *I.G.*² II 2336, after l. 56, and the missing Thesmothete, after l. 96 or 99, impoverished, recalcitrant, or dead?—Was the second Priest of Asclepius in the year 263/2 (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 21) a political replacement or a *suffectus*? Is it better to restore two archons or some unique entry (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 466, n. 3) in *I.G.* 2323, l. 189?

⁵ To avoid this hypothesis some may prefer to let Column I consist of 132 lines—occupying perhaps the full height of the stone; or to imagine that an extra word of the title was allowed somehow to crowd the column down; or that a short decree preceded the list, ending at the beginning of Col. I.

provisionally to allow room. Counting these, there have to be accommodated, when all possible combinations are made, in the gap of seven years six inter-related archons.¹ In addition, we are obliged to observe the proper relations of ordinary and intercalary years:—

ARCHON LIST,² 224/3–215/4

Year	Archon	Secretary	No. of Phyle	Quality of Year	Documents (All I.G. ² unless specified)
224/3	Antiphilos		2	0	1706, l. 51
223/2	{ Kalli[as?]	[-----ξκ] Κήδων	III	I	I.G. ¹ II 1591 ³ + 917 ³
222/1	{ Kalli---?		4	0	I.G. ¹ II 1591
221/0	Thrasyphon — ^{c.10} ... του Παιανιεύς	V	0	Magn. 16; 839
220/19	Menekrates		6	I	1706, l. 91
219/8	Chairephon ⁴ —	Φ[----- ^{c.15} -----] Κν]δαν- τιδης	VII	0	1304; <i>Hesperia</i> II (1933), pp. 160–1, no. 7; 1706, l. 101
218/7	[K]all[i. . ⁵ ...] (genitive) ⁵	Ἀριστοτέλης Θεαινέτου Κε[φαλήθεν]	VIII	0	1303 ⁵ + 843 ⁶
217/6	Euandros?	[Θ]έρσ[ιππος Θ]ρασ[ιππον Ἀρχαρχεύς]	IX	I	II, iv, p. 17; ³ 845 ³
216/5	Hagnias —	Ποτάμων Δοκ[ίμων Ἀιξω- νεύς?]	X	0	1706, l. 131; 794 ³
215/4	Diokles —	Ἀριστοφάνης Στρατοκλέους Κειριάδης	XI	I	1706, l. 141; 846–7

¹ It will be noted that, among names formerly appearing in this period, (1) “(Ka)lla(ischros)” has been changed to a better reading and placed in 218/7 (or 217/6?); (2) Philinos (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 213), if dated in this period, must be placed either in 223/2 (I.G.² II 917?) or 222/1; (3) Pantiades is removed to near 206/5 (*below*, p. 445), “Pantias” being shown to be fictitious.

² The heavy bar connecting the names of certain archons with their secretaries denotes that such a connection actually exists on stone; the other conjunctions of archon and secretary are hypothetical.—The list of documents includes only those which are important for establishing a date.

³ A full treatment of these inscriptions must be deferred until a later time: I.G.¹ II 1591 (“Kalli---” is not necessarily an archon); I.G.² II 917, 845, and 794.

⁴ For the dating, see now Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 97 f.; for the prosopography, see *below*, p. 444.

⁵ Formerly read as “(Ka)lla(ischros),” it is clear from the stone I.G.² II 1303 (see the new edition, *below*, pp. 448) that the name is one letter shorter, and that the preserved letters were wrongly read and wrongly placed.

⁶ I.G.² II 843, with an archon's name of ten letters in the genitive, must be dated in this year, for it belongs by its calendar formula to the period of Thirteen Tribes, yet it is laid out *stoichedon*. Dinsmoor's argument for ΚΕ|ΙΡΙΑΔΗΣ (*Archons*, p. 207) as the secretary's demotic may confidently be rejected, the likelihood of a split diphthong being unproved. There is ample space after ΚΕ for an iota. The mason was not trying to remain within a maximum of 39 letters, for in line 6, the fourth full line (line 1 is ΘΕΟΙ, line 4 is blank at the end), he has 40 letters, as in several other lines, even adding one outside his last column; usually he crowds letters back for 2 or 3 columns in order to end with syllables. Nor does he actually split a diphthong; for at the end of line 19 the Ε is crowded back for no reason whatever unless, as in every other such instance, another letter was to be added. The stone is broken just after the Ε; undoubtedly we should read χρε[ε|ας]. Hence the deme of the secretary was Kephale, the tribe Akamantis (VIII). The physical indications of the stone (lettering, *stoichedon* arrangement, and others) would favor a date one cycle earlier (230/29), but this is disfavored by the unlikelihood that Ptolemais was functioning in 230/29.

"Kalli - -" finds room in either 223/2 or 222/1, depending on whether the name is to be inserted in *I.G.*² II 917, which is not excluded from 210/9. If our other doubtful item, Euandros, be removed from 217/6, then [K]αλλ[ι...̄...] (genitive form) might equally well be dated in that year rather than in the year of *I.G.*² II 843, and the career of Theophrastos could be spaced out by another year (*I.G.*² II 1303).¹

We may now conjecturally reckon the total height of the stele. The list proper occupied 1.31 m. Above we supply a title in larger letters (say 0.05 m.) and a moulding (say 0.08 m.). If we add below a blank area 0.10 m. high, which is small, but more than the space left below the wreathes (0.045 m.) in *I.G.*² II 848, we must reckon a back thinned at the base to a height of 0.32 m. Some 0.08 m. more for insertion into the base at the bottom would complete the stele. The resulting height over all is 1.62 m., which may be compared with the 1.22 m. of *I.G.*² II 848 (Archelaos) of 212/1, which is of equal thickness, and has trimmed sides of the same width, but is not so wide (it averages 0.39 m. wide). It would seem that *I.G.*² II 1706 was of maximum height for its thickness; for it can be restored only a very little shorter.

With these measurements in mind, we may in conclusion seek an answer to the question, Why was the stele trimmed behind at top and bottom? To Professor Stillwell I am indebted for a most suggestive answer. In the Stoa of Eumenes and of Attalos, of slightly later date to be sure, we have wall bases (toichobate, orthostate, orthostate crown) constructed as shown in the diagram, Pl. XII. Against such a construction our stele could be perfectly accommodated. The trimming below answers to the toichobate; the trimming above to the orthostate crown: the height of these on the stele not being precisely fixed, either could be adjusted to the wall. The thicker rough area, however, is in our reconstruction an inflexible dimension, and it is the near approximation of this to preserved orthostates which makes this theory the more attractive.²

As a rule stelae stood free. Obviously we can only surmise what led to the setting of this stele close to a wall. A simple hypothesis does, however, suggest itself: finding that the stele was thin for its height, it was decided to set it where it would be less exposed, and where it could be secured at the top by clamps.³

¹ The crucial difference between this list and that in Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 27, is simply that Menekrates now follows rather than precedes Thrasyphon. The former position enabled us to make "Kalli- -", Menekrates (*I.G.*¹ II 1591) a closed sequence. This minor disadvantage, combined with Chairephon's demotic (*below*, p. 444, line 101), forms at present the sole basis for doubting the placing of Fragment D.

² The dimensions are: stele above ground, minimum 1.52 m. (as shown in Pl. XII); Stoa of Attalos (159-138 B.C.), 1.61 m.; Stoa of Eumenes (197-159 B.C.), 1.66 m. If a less cramped space (say 0.15 m. instead of 0.05 m.) be allowed for a title, the stele becomes *ca.* 1.62 m. high above ground. The thick rough part of the back of the stele, according to our reconstruction, was 99.6 m. tall; the orthostates in the Stoa of Attalos, 1.067 m.; in the Stoa of Eumenes, 1.145 m.

³ There is, however, no similar instance, at least in my knowledge, from any period, and the hypothesis of clamps is not necessary for the theory, as several new stelae from the Agora, of similar dimensions, prove. If we admit clamps nonetheless for the smaller stele, it is natural to consider whether a stele of the height involved by Dinsmoor's cycles (a stele too thin by half), might not be supported by a series of clamps. This improbable support might be granted, were it not for the other objections, already listed (p. 433), to the tall stele.

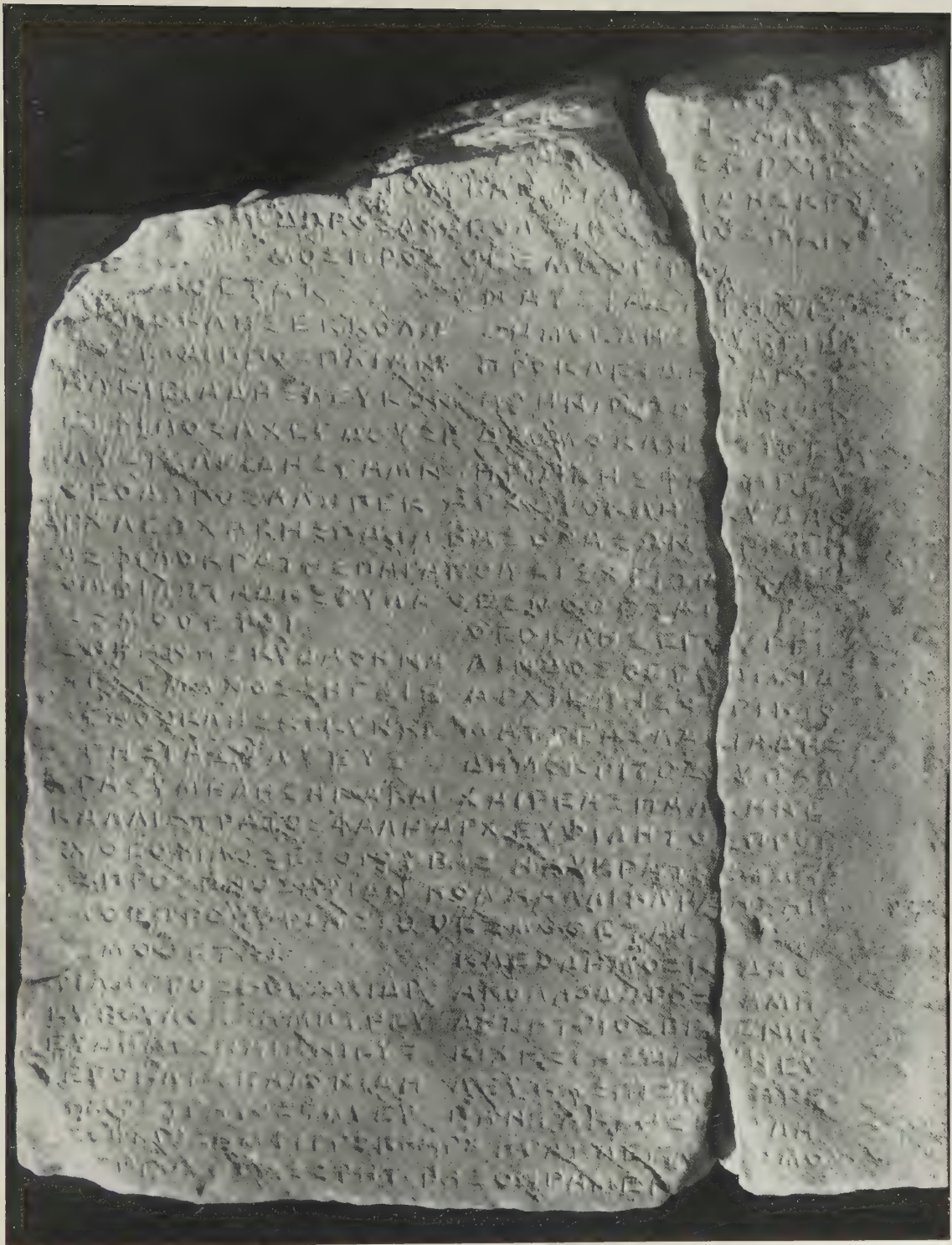


Fig. 9. I.G.² II 1706, Text on Frgs. A and B

PART IV: VARIANT READINGS AND COMMENTARY

The list of variant readings which follows is intended to be complete.¹ Full titles of previous editions have already been given (*above*, Part II). It will suffice here to list them together with the abbreviations employed:

Eust. = Eustratiades, Charames, Pittakys *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι*, 1851-2, no. 66.

Rang. = Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 1855, no. 1238.

Koe. = Koehler in *Inscriptiones Graecae* II, ii, 1883, no. 859.

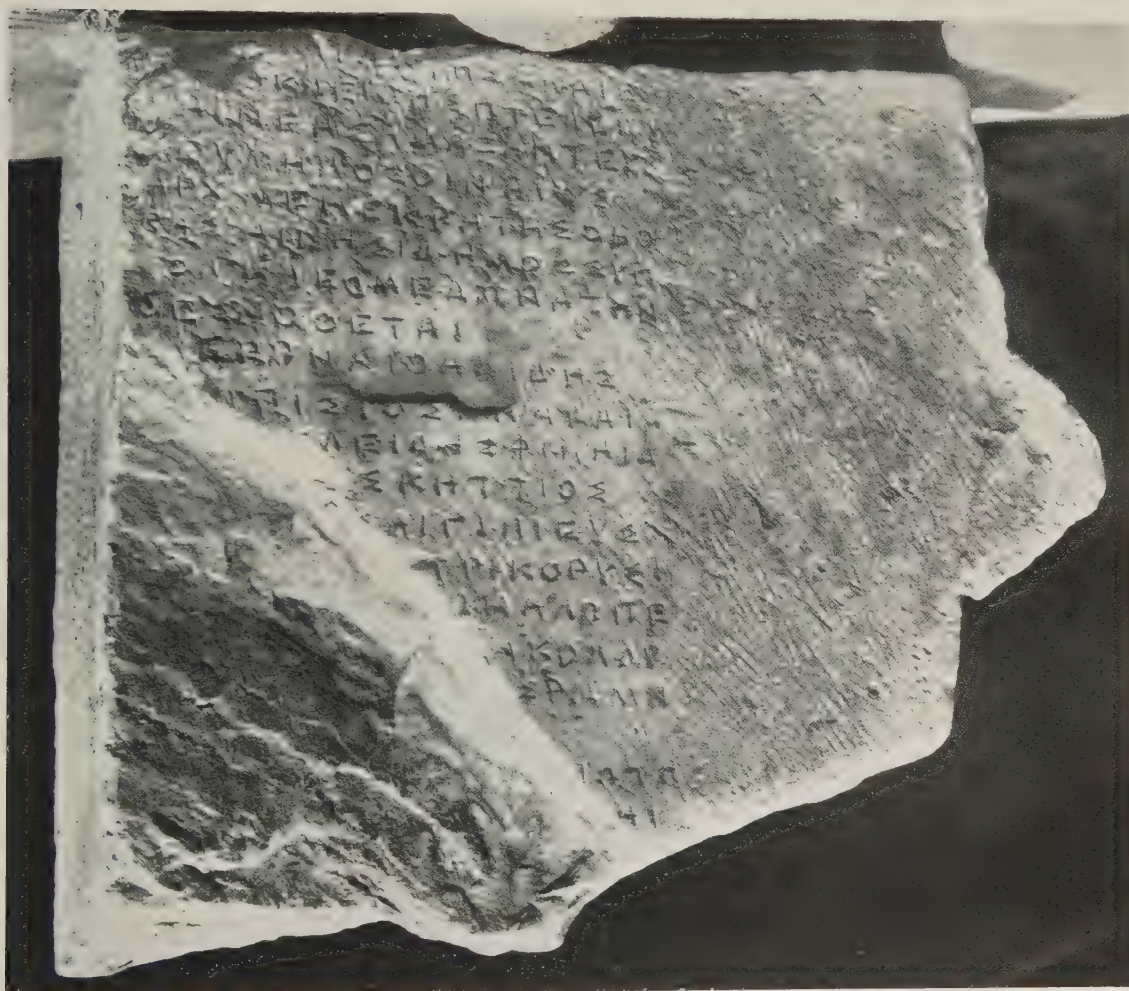


Fig. 11. I.G.² II 1706, Text on Fig. D

¹ Meier's *Commentatio Epigraphica Secunda* was accessible to me only in a copy which contained the plate (a direct copy of that of Eustratiadis), but not the text or commentary.

Mich. = Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, 1900, no. 649.

Dittb. = Kirchner in Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, 1917, no. 542.

Ki. = Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Ed. Minor II and III, iv, 1931, no. 1706.

For the sake of brevity I use "new" to mean "read by me for the first time"; "(error)" to denote a discrepancy between an editor's diagram and his text.

Figs. 9, 10, and 11 have the text: but as usual the stones themselves are the only satisfactory control.

There seemed to be no need to reprint here the fundamental data on the tribal affiliations of demes given by their discoverer, Kirchner, in Dittb.³ 542, and *I.G.*² II 1706.¹

Line 1. The lower right corner of delta (both strokes) is new. For the archon Ferguson was the first to suggest Heliodoros, his work (*Athenian Secretaries*, p. 53) appearing in the same year, 1898, with Schebelev's *History of Athens from 229 to 31 B.C.* (in Russian; pp. 39, 95), which had the same restoration. Historical evidence (*I.G.*² II 832, 833 and less clearly 844) and the secretary cycle both appeared to favor this position for Heliodoros. The story of Heliodoros since 1898 is complex, and the curious will naturally turn to Dinsmoor's model exposition (*Archons*, pp. 184—187). The principal heresy has been an attempted reduplication and the assignment (by some) of one Heliodoros to c. 240 (*I.G.*² II 832, 833) and the other to c. 217. Ferguson, Roussel, and Dinsmoor have opposed this, but Kirchner (*Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, pp. 456—8) has recently ventured 241/0 for one Heliodoros. Elsewhere I shall try to make it clear that the styles of *I.G.*² II 832 and 833, which are not by the same hand, tend by themselves to place Heliodoros at least a decade later, and are adverse to the suggested earlier dates. There will be something to be said, also, on the restoration of *non-stoichedon* inscriptions: *the allowance of a half instead of a full space for iota* is the main principle, and greater certainty is possible than is generally supposed.

As to the space in *I.G.*² II 1706, the only alternatives for Heliodoros thus far suggested are Johnson's (*Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 390, 409—410; XXXV, 1914, pp. 79, 80). The space, he asserted, demands a name of ten letters, but since he supplied no more explicit statement nor any control, we cannot know the source of his error. He suggested Lysitheides (9 full spaces), Pythokritos ($9\frac{1}{2}$), or Alexandros (10). Measurement of the stone and of the average spacings of letters in well-filled lines has shown me that $\text{HAIO}\Delta\Omega\text{PO}\Sigma$ ($8\frac{1}{2}$ letters) is exactly correct. The reader may control this for himself with the aid of Fig. 9. The simplest method is to lay a straight edge parallel to the edge of the stone, basing it on the iota of ΔIOM , and then count the letters thus blocked off in some moderately well-filled line (7, for example). It must be remembered (a) that iota occupies the space of half a letter, (b) that after APX a space of half a letter was vacant, and (c) that APX , $\text{BA}\Sigma$, and IOA project one full space. From measurement alone, however, we could merely question Lysitheides; for other reasons he may be rejected (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 181—182; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 81, n. 1).

¹ The suggested dates for the decree and list of contributors (*I.G.*² II 791) of the year of Diomedon are, by Ferguson (*Tribal Cycles*), in Scheme A,—which he prefers,—253/2; in Scheme B, 241/0; or admitting a hypothetical second Diomedon with a secretary dubiously from Leukonoe,—for which he merely concedes space in Scheme A,—232/1; by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, see Index), 247/6. This inscription preserves entire, or only slightly mutilated, the names-plus-demotic of 62 men. *I.G.*² II 1706 (230/29 213/2) preserves 94. In both cases the lists include,—the assumption is natural,—the leading men of the city. Generally speaking, prosopographical evidence is to be used warily: but even so, weight must be allowed to the fact that *neither list repeats a single name-plus-demotic of the other*. This argument from a large silence would seem to make the old date 232/1 somewhat improbable, to discourage the hypothetical reduplication of Diomedon, and to favor a date at least as early as 241/0.—For such prosopographical data as exist, see *I.G.*² II, and less positively, *below* under lines 37, 59, 81, 101, 131, 143, 170.

Line 2—4. The beginning of each line, read by early editors, is now missing due to a break, as noted *above* (p. 430, n. 5). The missing letters are underlined in my text. The details follow. No other letters have been lost since 1852.

2. Eust. diagram shows traces of ΥΜΠΙ; text begins with the second Ο. Rang. has Μ in his diagram, Υ also (error?) in his text.
3. Eust. Rang. diagrams have ΑΕΥΠ; Rang. text has also the first Ο (error).
4. Eust. Rang. have ΕΣΜ.
5. Eust. Koe. Dittb. Ki. lack Δ. Mich. lacks ΔΗ.
6. Final Ι included by Eust. Rang., omitted by Koe. Mich. Dittb. Ki.
11. Eust. text lacks initial Α (error).
13. Eust. diagram and text lack initial Ο.
14. Mich. has Θ.
15. Eust. Rang. lack initial Σ.
22. Eust. text has ΒΑΣ (error). Rang lacks ΑΣ.
23. Eust. Mich. lack Α.
29. Δ new.
30. Mich. lacks initial Σ.
31. Rang. lacks the first Η, Mich. the Ε.
32. Eust. has [ΒΑΣ]...Η..., others nothing. The break came through this line and destroyed all but the tips of some letters such as the fourth letter of the name, an upsilon or possibly a chi. One of the letters preceding it was, judging from the space, an iota, as for instance in [ΔΙΟΝ]Υ[ΣΙΟΣ], which would exactly conform to the space if the next preserved traces, below on Fragment C, begin the demotic. The traces preserved on C of the demotic appear to give Α.^{3 1/2} Α, and the deme, by Beloch's Law, should belong to Aigeis, Pandionis, Oineis or Antiochis, if there were still twelve tribes. The evidence does not enable a restoration.
33. Eust. Rang. lack Σ. No previous estimate of space.
34. Mich. lacks Α.
35. Rang. has ΙΜΟΣ; no other edition has any trace before the Μ. Dittb. Ki. estimate 6 letters missing. Koe. (text, error) Mich. omit the line entirely.—Actually the traces of eta are clear, and the space fits such a name as Φιλόδημος (PA 14491).
37. Rang. has -Κ--ΦΡΕΟΝ, all others --ΚΟΙΦΡΕΟΝ, which did not admit of restoration by any known Greek name.—The first Ι is new. In emending ΙΦ, all the traces of which are clear on the stone, to Κ, which is equally clear, I follow a suggestion which others have considered. Oddly enough, this stone-cutter elsewhere confounded Φ with Κ, and as here simply cut the one over the other (cf. lines 59, 130). For the restoration given there appear to be no alternatives (see Pape, *Handwörterbuch*, III, pp. XXIX and 1005; Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen*, p. 262). The name Nikokreon is not to be found in Kirchner's and Sundwall's *Prosopographia Attica*. A Nikokreon is known in Salamis in Cyprus from Plut., *Alex.* 29 (not 19 as in Pape) and other sources (see Pape).
41. The Α, which is new, is given us by the line of the break.
42. Eust. Rang. lack the first Α. The Ρ has a tail (influence of Κ?).
48. Α new.
50. Eust. Rang. begin the name with a Π.
52. Β, which is new, is given us by the line of the break.
53. Eust. Rang. lack the first Π.
54. Eust. text has initial Θ (error).

- Line 57. It is usually assumed (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 463) that the tribe out of order in this year is Leontis in line 58, and that is still possible providing that in line 59 we restore ΠΕ[ΠΑΙ] or ΚΕ[ΠΙΑΔ] (Hippothontis). Otherwise it is line 57 which with line 143 alone remain among alleged violations of Beloch's Law. We cannot suppose, however, that Athmonon was subdivided, unless part were in some tribe other than Antigonis, Demetrias, or Ptolemais: for to give part of Athmonon to any of these would not improve matters in this year. There is no other evidence—Athmonon later went to Attalis, seemingly as a whole.
58. The rest of the demotic should be supplied, otherwise the line would be uniquely short.
59. Eust. Rang. lack any letter of the demotic. Koe. Mich. Dittb. Ki. have Π --, and actually Π is favored, although the stone permits Κ, and only Ο (Θ) would explain the short horizontal stroke at the bottom. This stroke was certainly made by the original stone-cutter, unlike the thinner spurious stroke in line 67; but I find no Ο made like this one, and hence exclude Θ. The shape of the break apparently gives us Ε for the second letter. The possible demotics are Κεφale (Akamantis), Kerameikos (Akamantis), Perithoidai (Oineis), Keiriadai (Hippothontis), and Piraeus (Hippothontis). Lolling's suggestion (*I.G.*² II 1706, commentary), Π[ροσπάλιος], is excluded; and Kirchner rightly came to reject (*S.I.G.*, no. 542, n. 6) Koehler's Π[αυριεύς] (PA 14359).
60. The Μ and Π are far from clear, as previous editors have recognized, but no other name in ΘΕΟΠΟ --- is known.
81. For reasons given *above* pp. 435–6 and *below* l. 101, the archon Thrasyphon, hitherto commonly inserted in line 101, is now disassociated from Alopeke (line 101). The name was rare in Athens: we have only PA 7371, ephebe of the tribe Demetrias (to which Xypete belonged) in 305/4 (PA 7372 is the archon); PA 7373, spokesman of two decrees in the period of Hieron (254/3 or 242/1), demesman of Xypete; PA 7374, whose son Alketes was ephebe in 107/6, demesman of the Piraeus (tribe Hippothontis). It is tempting to identify or connect the archon with PA 7373; in any case we may set this stronger prosopographical evidence against that in regard to Chairephon (*below*, l. 101).
87. Eust. has ΗΣ, Rang. has --- ΙΗΣ, Mich. has --- ΑΘΗΣ, Koe. and Dittb. have --- Η. / \ ΗΣ (=.... Η. ΑΘΗΣ). The base of the Κ has a short horizontal stroke, which is proved by its thinness to be an accidental scratch.
96. Eust. has [ΕΑ]ΠΙΣ[Τ]ΟΣ, Rang. has . ΑΠΙΣΙΟΣ.
97. Initial Α new.
98. Estimates of the space have been:, Eust.; Dittb. Ki.
99. Eust. estimates Σ, but the liberal spacing of the preserved letters suggests 4¹/₂.
100. Eust. estimated 7 letters were missing, Dittb. Ki. 8.
101. Name unrestored in Eust. (who has ΟΝΑΑΛΟΠΕ *sic*), Koe.; Chairephon, Mich.; Thrasyphon, Dittb. Ki. As in line 1, we may use two methods to ascertain the number of letters missing; both prove that the space available is exactly that occupied by ΑΡΧ ΜΕΝΕΚ, or 0.075 m. Hence for the archon's name, allowing for a slight extra spacing for the mu, we should expect to supply either 5 or 5¹/₂ letters. ΧΑΙΡΕΦ is decidedly favored over ΘΡΑΣΥΦ, but the latter is not excluded. We have already preferred Chairephon on other grounds (*above*, p. 435). This arrangement forces us to conclude that the archon was not Chairephon of Eitea (*I.G.*² II 791, l. 20, archon Diomedon of 253/2, 241/0, or 232/1?). In all we know 15 men of this name (PA 15189 - 15203); attached to their names are 9 different demotics.
- 102 106, 129 130. Lacking entirely in Mich.
103. Eust. estimates 6 letters of the name missing, 8 Dittb. Ki.
105. Eust. has [..... ΣΔΕΙΡΑΔ]ΙΟΤΗ; others make no estimate.
106. Eust. estimates 11 letters missing.

- Line 129. Eust. Rang. omit this line. NΦ Koe. Dittb. Ki. without estimate of space. Preceding the nu is a trace of eta, or iota, or possibly omega. Either all three letters are part of the demotic, for which I find none suitable, or we must follow Beloch and accept the version given.
130. Eust. has HΣ. The last letter is apparently Φ cut over K (cf. lines 37, 59).
131. Eust. has Σ, Rang. has -- Σ, Mich. has [A]P[XΓAAΥKIIΠHΘ]Σ, Koe. has ΑΡΛ without estimate of gap, Dittb. has [A]PX Σ, Ki. has [A]PX[IIANTIA]Σ.—The stone bears clear traces of APX; then a gap with enough stone preserved to show any letter with a long upright; a mark of corrosion; a damaged area; the end of an upright stroke slanting downward slightly to the right, and continued by the line of the break so that we have apparently a Γ or even a Π. The traces which follow can be a letter only if the break which appears to form the top of the preceding letter be disregarded. These traces have the shape of an O (Θ), but close examination shows that the contour of the marks is not that of the lower part of O, but is instead exactly similar to the corrosion by trickling nearby. O (Θ) is therefore excluded. The list of admissible readings which follows is arranged in order of preference; but (1) and (2) are favored considerably above the rest, which disregard the line of break, and must also presuppose a long gap after the preserved stroke:

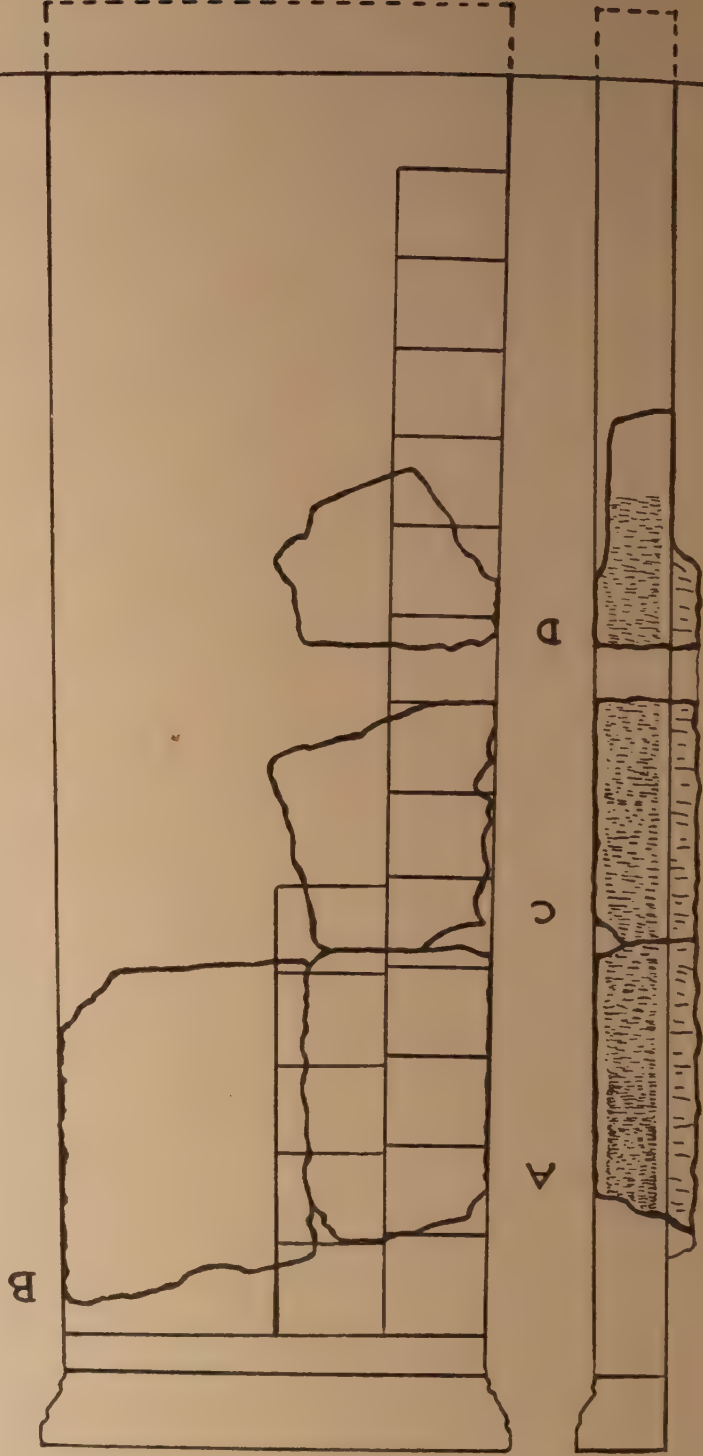
- (1) . Γ .^{2 1/2}. Σ (e.g. ΑΓΝΙΑΣ)
 (2) . Π .^{2 1/2}. Σ (e.g. ΙΠΠΙΑΣ)
 (3) Μ .^{3 1/2}. Σ (e.g. ΜΟΑΠΙΣ)
 (4) Λ .^{3 1/2}. Σ
 (5) Α .^{3 1/2}. Σ

We therefore see that Dinsmoor's Philinos (*Archons*, p. 213) is excluded, because the initial Φ would inevitably show. The previous leading candidate, "Pantias," is excluded because there is no room for the Π (a small *vacat* must be allowed after APX). "Pantias" is also a full letter too long: the error may have arisen because Frgs. A and B were not set tightly together in the plaster. With the new date for Hagnias accord perfectly the styles of I.G.² II 794 and 1292 in which his name occurs; I intend to discuss them in a different setting; also Pantiades.

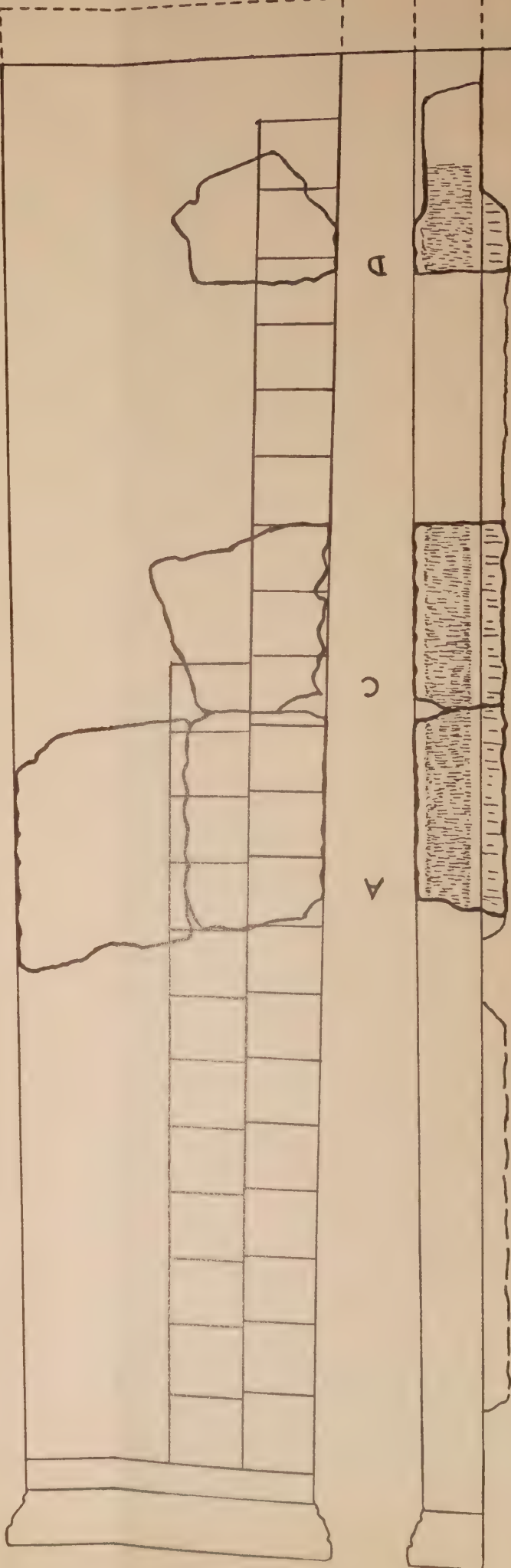
132. Eust. Rang. lack both Π's.
133. Eust. Rang. lack ΦΙΑ. Mich. lacks Φ.
134. The second epsilon is defective (Γ).
135. Eust. lacks the third Λ.
137. Eust. diagram has the Σ (error). The first epsilon is defective (F).
138. Σ new.
139. Σ new.
140. Eust. lacks Α.
142. Eust. has P; Rang. has -- P ---; Koe. has . ΡΛΛ; Mich. has ---; Dittb. has [Π]ΡΛΣΙ; Ki. has [Π]ΡΛ[Σ]Ι. Π new. Α final upright stroke is evidently the result of corrosion. Over part of this and the next demotic a deposit has formed.
143. Eust. Rang. lack any letters of the demotic; Koe. has -P--; Mich. has -PO---; Dittb. has ΦΡ[ΕΑΡ]; Ki. has [Ε]ΡΟ[ΙΑ]. The stone favors ΦΙΛΛ, but corrosion has cut so sharply in this area that true strokes of letters cannot always be identified. The rigid application of Beloch's Law (on which see Part II of my forthcoming paper on lists of *archontes*) would lead us to adopt the reading given, though without insistence, in the text.—The Φ is absolutely certain, and no letter intervened between it and the name. Failure to observe the common shape given to phi led to its being read hitherto as rho.—The reading given in Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 51, n. 3 is due to my former misconception of this difficult line.

- Line 145. Eust. Rang. Mich. lack M.
 146. B and second E new.
 148. Rang. Mich. lack K.
 152. Eust. has TI[OΣ].
 153. Eust. Rang. lack the Σ.
 159. Eust. Rang. have the second A.
 163. Eust. has ΠΟΛ ---; Rang. has no letters; Mich. has ΠΟΛ-Η ---; Koe. Dittb. Ki. have ΠΟΛ.Η ---.
 The traces on the stone would admit ΗΡΟΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ, the long name in line 50, except that they are not crowded. No restoration is possible.
 164. Eust. Mich. lack the second E.
 165. Final Α new. The demotic, by Beloch's Law, is Kollytos or Kolonos.
 167. Eust. lacks Η.
 168. A small trace hitherto unrecorded after the last sigma is evidently spurious.
 169. The tribe of Admetos, by Beloch's Law, must be Oineis; hence the deme is Perithoidai or Ptelea.
 170. PA 920: if one is wary of Kirchner's identification of this Andron (the name is not common), the demotic Ἀμ[φιτροπῆ](θεν) is also possible (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 462).

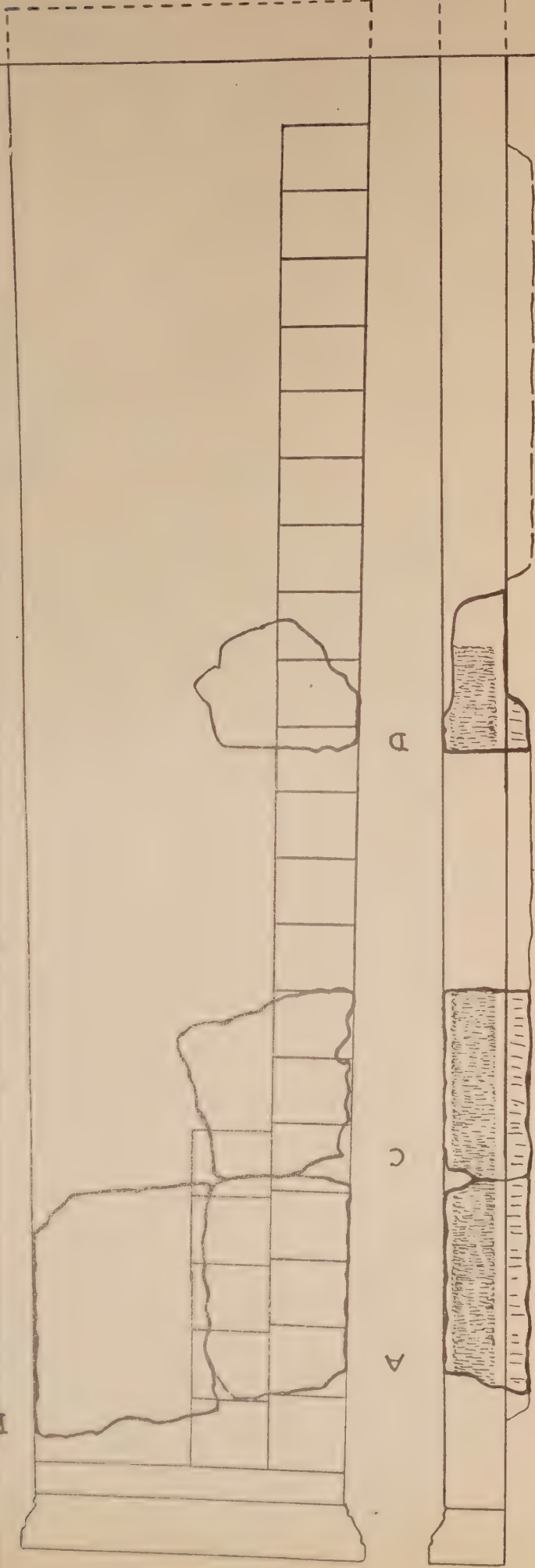
STERLING DOW



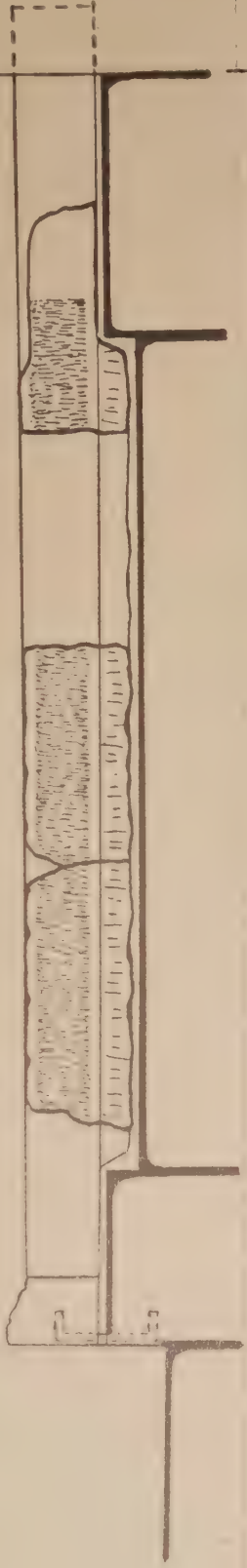
Preferred by Dinsmoor



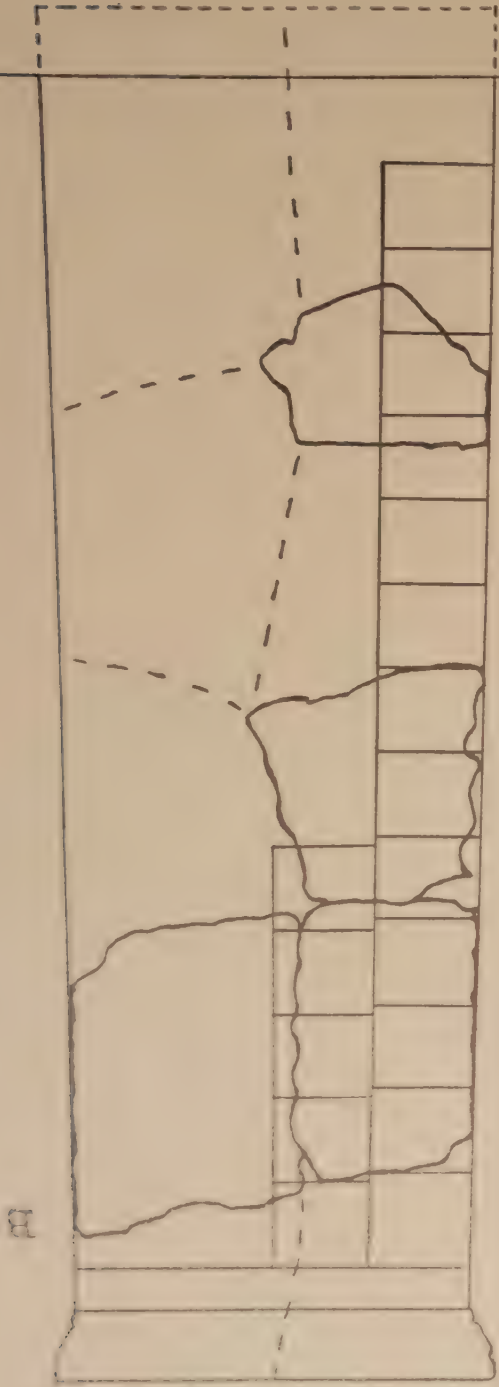
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Hypothetical Setting



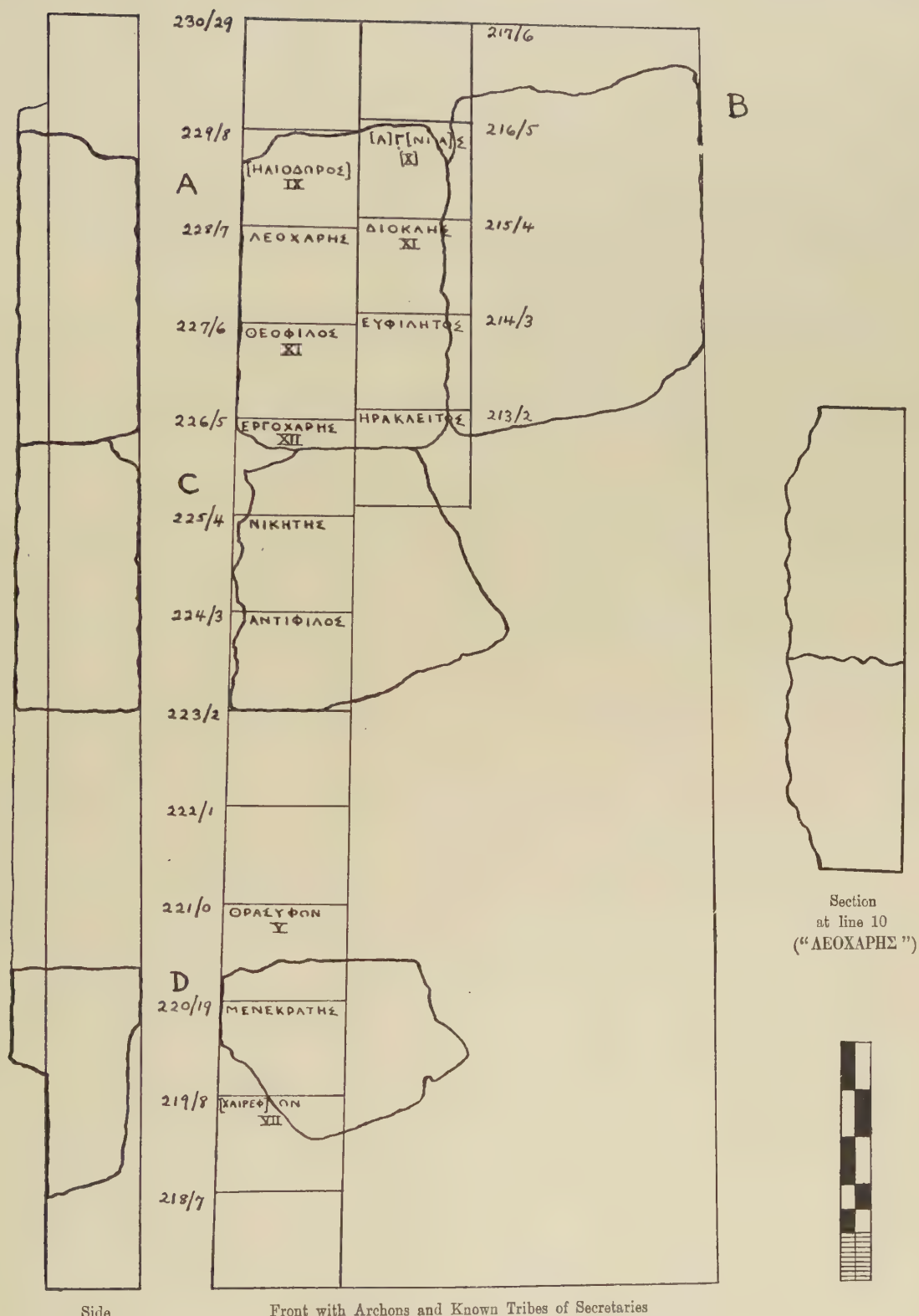
Front with Hypothetical Lines of Breakage



Dow, Above, Part III

The Stele I.G.² 1706: Left Side and Front Reconstructed According to Variant Theories

Alternative Suggestions by Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 203 (favoring a revetment or pilaster rather than a stele)



TEXT

Missing above the list itself:

A moulding without pediment (?)

A title of two lines in larger letters (?)

	Column I	Column II	(Column III)	(Column IV)	
	[The following arrangement is that of the stele, line 1 being precisely opposite line 132, etc.]	Missing above line 129: lines 121–128, including—	The stone was prepared for two additional columns which were never inscribed.		
	Missing above line 1: 11 lines, including the archon of 280/29, and a <i>suffectus</i> (?)	[Ἀρχ Εὐανδρος --]	121	217/6	
229/8	[Ἀρχ Ἡλιόδωρος] Διομ	... ^{ε.ζ.η.} ... ^{ων} Φ[αληρ]	180		Fragment B
Fragment A	[Βας Ὀλ]υμπιόδωρος Ἀχα	... ^{ι.κ.λ.} ... ^{ης} Ἀναφ	216/5	Vacat	
	[Πο]λ Εὐπρόλεμος Προς	Ἀρχ [Ἀ]γ[ν]ιάς Ἐρχια		Vacat	
	[Θ]εσμοβέται	Βας Φιλί[τε]πίδης Κεφ			
5	Δημοκλῆς ἐκ Κολω	Πολ Οινόφ[ι]λος Παιο			
	Ποσειδίππος Παιανι	Θεσμοβέται	185		
	Ἀκτιπιάδης Λευκον	Νανσίας Ἀτρενέ			
	Δίφιλος Ἀχερδόουσι	Δημοκλῆς [Σ]υβρίδην			
	Λυσικλείδης Ῥαμν	Προκλείδης[ς] Ἀγγε			
	Θεόδωρος Ἀλωπεκ	Ἀθήνηππος Ἀφιδν			
10		Δρομοκλῆς Πιθεύ	140		
		Ἡρώδης Φα[λ]ηρεῦ			
226/7	Ἀρχ Λεωχάρης Παλλ	Ἀρχ Διοκλῆς Κυθαθ	215/4		
	[Β]ας Φιλοκράτης Παια	Βας Θράσων Πρασπ			
	[Π]ολ Φιλοτάδης Φυλά	Πολ Αἰσχρίων Φηγ[ού]			
	[Θ]εσμοβέται	Θεσμοβέται			
	Σωφάνης Κυθαθίνα	Θεοκλῆς ἐγ Μυρρι	145		
	Ἀρχεμάχος Φηγαιε	Αἰνδος Βαρενικίδ			
	Ἀγαθοκλῆς Κικυννε	Ἀρχικλῆς Θ[ο]ρίκιο			
	[Ἡ]γήσιος Φλυεύς	Ματρεάς Λακιάδης			
	[Θ]ρασυμήδης Ἀνακαι	Δημόκριτος Συναλ	150		
	Καλλίστρατος Φαλη	Χαιρέας Παλληγε			
227/6	[Ἀ]ρχ Θεόφιλος ἐξ Οἴλυ	Ἀρχ Εὐφίλτος Προβ	214/3		
	[Β]ας Πρῶξιτος Ἀφιδν	Βας Νανκράτης Ἀμαξ			
	[Πο]λ Θεώρος Θωρίσιο	Πολ Καλλιπλῆς Ἀχαρ			
	[Θε]σμοβέται	Θεσμοβέται			
	Φίλαρχος Κοθωκίδην	Κλεόδωρος Κυθαθ	155		
	Εὐφρόνιος Ἀμπτρεῦ	Ἀπολλόδωρος [Ἀ]μπτ			
	Εὐδῆμος Παιανιεύς	Δημήτριος Βε[ρ]ενικ			
	Ἱεροκλῆς Παιονίδην	Κικησίας Αἰξ[ω]νεῦ			
	Δημόστρατος Φλυεύ	Λεύκασπις Φ[αλ]ηρε			
	[Ἰ]σόφιλος Ἀμφιτροπῆ	Παντακλῆς Π[α]λλη	160		
226/5	[Ἀρχ] Ἐργοχάρης Σφήη	Ἀρχ Ηράκλειτος[ς] Ἀθμο	213/2		
Fragment C	[Βας] ^{α.β.γ.} ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ^{η.θ.ι.} ^{κ.λ.μ.} ^{ν.ξ.ο.}	Βας Θηραμένης -- --]			
	[Πολ ... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]	Π[ο]λ ... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]			
	[Θεσμοβέτ]αι	Θεσμοβέ[τα]ι			
	^{α.β.γ.} ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ^{η.θ.ι.} ^{κ.λ.μ.} ^{ν.ξ.ο.}	Ἀγαθοκλῆς -- --]	165		
	[Ἀ]μπτρίλας Θοραιεύς	Σίμων Κολ -- --]			
	[Ν]ικοφρέων Παμβωτά	Ἡρακλείδης[ς] -- --]			
	[Ε]ὐφίλτος Φλυεύς	Εἰνικος Σ[φ]ήντιος]			
	[Μ]ησίθεος Κόπρειος	Ἀδμητος Π -- --]			
	Λυσίστρατος Ῥαμν	Ἀνδρων Ἀμ[α]ξαντεῦ]	170		
225/4	Ἀρχ Νικητής Σκαμβων	Vacat			
	[Β]ας Ξερόφαντος Κειρι				
	[Πο]λ Θεότιμος Ἀμπτρε				
	[Θ]εσμοβέται				
	Σωκράτης Θοραιεύς				
	Καλλιτέλης Πλωθεῦ				
	[Θ]ράσων Κικυννέος				
	Ἀθανδρος Ἀχαρνε				
	Ἡγησίνικος Φλυεύς				
	Ἡροσκάμανδρος Ἀλωπε				
224/3	Ἀρχ Ἀντίφιλος Ἀφιδν				
	Βας Λωρόθεος Ἰπποτο				
	Πολ Πρωτομένης Εἰτε				
	[Θ]εσμοβέται				
	Εὐθύλογος Γαργήττι				
	Ἀντίπατρος Περγας				
	Μητροδόωρος Ἀθμονε				
	Δρωπίδης Κήττι[ος]				
	Φιλίππιδης Π -- --]				
	Θεόπομπ[ος]				
	Missing on a fragment now lost: lines 61–86 including—				
223/2	61 [Ἀρχ -- -- -- -- --]				
222/1	71 [Ἀρχ Καλλι? -- -- --]				
221/0	81 [Ἀρχ Θρασυφῶν (ἐκ Ζουπετ?)]				
Fragment D	[Καλ]λῆχ[ος] Ἀλαιε				
	[Ἡρ]ακλείδης Πτελεά				
	Αἰνέας Ἀμαξαντεῦ				
90	Εὐμῆλος Οἰναῖος				
220/19	Ἀρχ Μενελάδης Ὀφθ				
	Βας Αἰνησίδημος Συπ				
	[Π]ολ Κλεομένης Ἀτην				
	Θεσμοβέται				
95	Ἰέρων Αἰθαλίδης				
	[Ἡ]λπίστος Ἀνακαι				
	[Ἡρ]ακλείδης Φιλαίδ				
	... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				
	^{α.β.γ.} ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ^{η.θ.ι.} ^{κ.λ.μ.} ^{ν.ξ.ο.}				
100	... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				
219/8	[Ἀρχ Χαιρεφ]ῶν Ἀλωπε				
	[Βας ... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				
	[Πολ ... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				
	[Θεσμοβέται]				
105	[... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				
	... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				
	Missing below line 106: lines 107–120, including—				
218/7	111 [Ἀρχ [Κ]αλλ[ί]... ^{α.β.γ.} ... ^{δ.ε.ζ.} ... ^{η.θ.ι.} ... ^{κ.λ.μ.} ... ^{ν.ξ.ο.} ...]				

I.G.² II 1303

CTOIX
c. 43

[Θ] E [Ο] I
 [ν^νE]φο[ξ]εν Ἀθῆναι[ων τ]οῖς τεταγμέ[νοις Ἐλευσί]νι κα[ί] Παι-
 νιάκ[τ]ωι καὶ Φυλ[ῆ]ι· ἐπ[ι]ειδὴ Θεόφραστος εὐνοῦς ὢν διατε-
 λει[τῶι δ]ήμωι τῶ[ι] Ἀθῆναιων καὶ εἰς ὅσας ἐπιμελείας
 5 αὐτὸν π[α]ρα[κ]α[λ]ο[ί]η κα[λ]ῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως αὐτ[ᾶ]ς ἐξήχε[τ] ἀ[σ]-
 [ας· καὶ] μὲν χειροτονηθεὶς [γ]υμνασάρχος εἰς τὸν ἐν[ιαυ]-
 224/3 [τὸν τ]ὸν ἐπ[ὶ] Ἀντιφίλου ἄρχ[οντο]ς τ[ᾶ] τε κατὰ τ[ᾶ] γυμνά[σια]
 [διεξ]ήγα[γ]ε[ν] ε[ν] τᾷτάκτως καὶ ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις, κα[ὶ]
 τοῖς] ἀγῶνας ἔθηκε, τοὺς τε κ[αθ]ήκοιτας καὶ [ἰ]δίαι [τῶι]
 10 βασιλεῖ Πτολ[ε]μαίωι προθεῖς [ἄ]θλα τοῖς ἀγ[ω]νίσασθ[αι]
 [βο]υλομένοις τῶν νεανίσκων ἢ φ[ι]λοτιμούμε[ν]ος ἀκ[ο]-
 [λ]οῦ[θ]ως [τε] τοῦ δήμου προαιρέ[σ]ε[ι] τιμᾶν τῶ[ν] β[α]σ[ι]λέα·
 [χειρο]τονηθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑπαρχ[ος] εἰς τὸν ἐν[ιαυ]τὸν τ[ὸν]
 220/19 ξ[π]ι Μ[ενε]κ[ρ]άτου ἄρχοντος ἐπ[ε]μέληθη το[ῦ] ἱπ[π]ικ[ο]ῦ, ἱπ[π]-
 15 π[ου]ς π[α]ντας ἱπποτρόφους, ἱν[ὸ] δὲ τοῖς δ[ι]π[λο]ῖς ὥς ἄρι[στα]
 [κ]α[τε]σκευασμένον[ι] ὦ[σ]ι[ν] ἐπ[ε]μέλει[εν] δέκα [μυ]νῶν ἐπιθ[ρο]ν
 [τ]οῖς λ[ο]χ[α]γ[ο]ῖς κα[ὶ] τὴν [πρ]ώ[την] ἐπελέξα[το] τοῖς ἐξ[α]κο-
 [σ]ίους, [κα]ὶ π[α]ντα [τα]ῖς [οὐ]θ[ε]ν [ἐλ]λείπων [τῶ]ς καθ' α[ὐτ]ὸν
 [φ]ιλοτ[ι]μ[ί]ας, καὶ [διὰ] ταῦτα ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς β[ου]λῆς καὶ το[ῦ]
 20 [δ]ήμου καὶ τῶν ἱπ[π]ίων ἐστεφ[άνω]ται· [κατ]ασταθεὶς [δ]ὲ
 [σ]τρατ[ηγ]ὸς ἐπὶ τ[ῇ]ν χώραν τ[ῇ]ν ἐπ[ὶ] Ἐλεν[θ]ῖνος εἰς τ[ὸ]ν
 218/7 [ἐ]νιαντὸν τὸν ἐπὶ [Κ]αλλ[ί]... ἄρχοντος τῆς τε τῶν
 [φ]ρο[ν]ο[ν]των φ[ι]λ[α]κ[ῆ]ς καὶ ὁχ[ρ]ωσέως ἐπε[μ]ε[λ]ήθη ὅπως ἂν
 [σ]φ[ω]τ[η]ρ[ί]αν τῶ[ι] δήμωι καὶ ἐβ[δ]ομασίαν τῶ[ι] ε... π...
 25 ... τὴν δημο[σ]ίαν... Ω...¹¹... Ο... Ε...⁸...
 ... [τὸ]ν ἐν[ιαυ]τὸν ὃν [ἐ]στρατ[ηγ]ήσας ἐπ[ὶ] οδοχ[α]τ[ῆ]...⁹...
 ... ἸΝ... Η... ἐφρόντισεν...⁸... Ι... ΑΕ...¹¹...
 ...⁹... [π]α[ρ]αγενόμε[ν]ος...⁹... Ω... ΑΣΤΑ...⁶...
 ...¹⁹... Ω... ἐπειθ[ὴ]...¹⁰... ΤΘΝΜΥ...⁶...
 30 ...¹⁶... ΝΘΙΗΑ... ΝΟΝ...⁶... Υ... ἀσφα[λ]ε[ια]
 ...²⁷... ΟΝ... ΤΟ... ΥΜ... ΧΕ...²
 ... ΟΙ... Ν...²⁶... ΩΙ... ΟΙΣΘ...²
 ...³¹... τοῦ δήμο[ν] το[ῦ]
 Ἀθῆναι[ων] φ[ι]λ[ο]...⁶... ΤΗ...¹⁵... Ο... καὶ... Κ...⁴...
 35 -----

It is difficult to estimate the precise significance to be attached to the allusion in line 12 to the "policy" of Athens to do honor to King Ptolemy; it can be taken as a reference to the creation of Ptolemais but it does not involve necessarily more than a recognition of the general foreign policy of Eurykleides and Mikion. The services of Theophrastos as Hipparch in the archonship of Menekrates are more easily intelligible when we date this archon (as *above*, pp. 437) in 220/19 B.C. instead of, as has been usual heretofore, in 222/1 B.C.; they accord well with the situation of Athens in the first year of the Social War. The restoration of lines 16-17 may be questioned.¹ It is difficult to see what the Hipparch had to do with *Lochagoi*, who are known in Athens only as subordinate infantry officers, though the use of the word for cavalry officers is attested. If ἐξ[αχο|σ]ίους and ἵππ[α]ρχ[ος] are correct (we have failed to find any alternatives) we are confronted with a new bit of information—that in 220/19 B.C. the Hipparch enrolled an additional corps of 600 horsemen which was kept in existence thereafter. He may have picked them out of the companies of infantry.

It appears that the name of the archon during whose year Theophrastos was General of the Eleusinian *Chora* was [K]αλλ[ι]], thus excluding "(Ka)lla(ischros)." An archon name of precisely ten letters is required by *I.G.*² II 843 for the year 218/7 B.C., and since Theophrastos' generalship seems to have fallen in a time of danger, we propose placing [K]αλλ[ι]] in 218/7.²

Theophrastos thus becomes the immediate successor at Eleusis of Demainetos, whose first command there belongs in 219/8. The corruption of the text prevents us from determining whether Theophrastos was reelected for the year 217/6 B.C.

¹ The traces favor lambda rather than delta in the word restored as ἐ]πελ[ε]ξ[ε] in line 17.

² For the general situation of Athens during the Social War see *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 248 f.

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

STERLING DOW

Missing on a fragment now lost:
lines 61—86 including—

223/2 61 [Ἀρχ] - - - - -
222/1 71 [Ἀρχ Καλλι? - - - - -]
221/0 81 [Ἀρχ Θερασφῶν (ἐκ ἔπειτα?)]

Fragment
D [Καλ]λιχ[ρ]ατης Ἀλαιε
[Ἡρ]ακλειδης Πτελεά

90 Αἰνέας Ἀμαξανεύ
Εὐμηλος Οἰναῖος
220/19 Ἀρχ Μενεράτης Ὀϊθ
Βες Αἰησιόδημος Σνπ
[Π]ολ Κλεομέδων Ἀτην
Θεσμοθέται

95 Ἰέρων Αἰθαλίδης
[Ἦ]λυστος Ἀνακαι
[Ἡρ]ακλειδης Φυλαῖδ
... 5 Κήτιος
... 4 1/2 5 Αἰγυλιεύς
... 7 1/2 ... Τριχοῦσι

100 [Ἀρχ Χαιρεφ]ῶν Ἀλωπε
219/8 Βες ... 6 ω]ν Κόλλν
[Πολ ... 7 1/2 ...]ς Ραῖν
[Θεσμοθέται]
105 [... 8 ... Δειραδ]ιώτη
... c. 12 ... αι

Missing below line 106:
lines 107—120, including—

218/7 111 [Ἀρχ [Κ]αλλ[ε]... 5 ... - - -]

